

H. Gravelot inv. & delin. J. F. Le Bas Sculp.

ALEXANDER in the TENT of DARIUS.

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THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,

MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER.

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[a] ALEXANDER came into the world the firſt year of the CVIth Olympiad. A. M. 3648. Ant. J. C. 356.

The very day he came into the world, the celebrated temple of Diana in Epheſus was burnt. The reader knows, without doubt, that it was one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It had been built in the name, and at the expence of all Aſia Minor. A great number of * years were employed in building it. Its length was four hundred and twenty-five feet, and its breadth two hundred and twenty. It was ſupported by an hundred and twenty-ſeven columns, threeſcore feet high, which ſo many † kings had cauſed to be wrought at a great expence, and by the moſt excellent artiſts, who endeavoured to excel one another on this occaſion. The reſt of the temple was equal to the columns in magnificence.

[b] Hegeſias ‡ of Magneſia, according to Plutarch, ſays, "That it was no wonder the temple was burned, becauſe

[a] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 14. [b] Plut. in Alex. p. 665.

* Pliny ſays two hundred and twenty years, which is not probable.

† Anciently moſt cities were governed by their particular king.

‡ He was an hiſtorian, and lived in the time of Ptolemy, ſon of Lagus.

Diana was that day employed at the delivery of Olympias, to facilitate the birth of Alexander." A reflection, ſays our author, ſo very * cold, that it might have extinguiſhed the fire. † Cicero, who aſcribes this ſaying to Timæus, declares it a very ſmart one, at which I am very much ſurpriſed. Poſſibly the fondneſs he had for jokes, made him not very delicate in things of this kind.

[c] One Heroſtratus had fired that temple on purpoſe. Being put to the torture, in order to force him to confeſs his motive for committing ſo infamous an action, he confeſſed that it was the view of making himſelf known to poſterity, and to immortaliſe his name, by deſtroying ſo noble a ſtructure. The ſtates general of Aſia imagined they ſhould prevent the ſucceſs of his view, by publiſhing a decree, to prohibit the mention of his name. However, their prohibition only excited a greater curioſity; for ſcarce one of the hiſtorians of that age has omitted to mention ſo monſtrous an extravagance, and at the ſame time have told us the name of the criminal.

[d] The paſſion which prevailed moſt in Alexander, even from his tender years, was ambition, and an ardent deſire of glory; but not for every ſpecies of glory. Philip, like a ſophiſt, valued himſelf upon his eloquence and the beauty of his ſtile; and had the vanity to have engraved on his coins the ſeveral victories he had won at the Olympick games in the chariot-race. But it was not to this his ſon aſpired. His friends aſking him one day, whether he would not be preſent at the games above-mentioned, in order to diſpute the prize beſtowed on that occaſion? for he was very ſwift of foot. He anſwered, "That he would contend in them, provided kings were to be his antagoniſts."

Every time news was brought him, that his father had taken ſome city, or gained ſome great battle, Alexander, ſo far from ſharing in the general joy, uſed to ſay in a plaintive tone of voice, to the young perſons that were brought up with him,

[c] Valer. Max. l. viii. c. 14.

[d] Plut. in vit. Alex. p. 665—668. Ib. de Fortun. Alex. p. 342.

* I do not know whether Plutarch's reflection be not ſtill colder.

† *Concinnè, ut multa, Timæus; qui, cum in hiſtoria dixiſſet, qua nocte natus Alexander eſſet, eadem Dianæ Epheſiæ templum deflagraviſſe, adjunxit: minime id eſſe mirandum, quòd Diana, cum in partu Olympiadis adeſſe voluiſſet, abfuiſſet domo.* De Nat. Deor. l. ii. n. 69.

" Friends, my father will poſſeſs himſelf of every thing, and leave nothing for us to do."

One day ſome ambaſſadors from the king of Perſia being arrived at court during Philip's abſence, Alexander gave them ſo kind and ſo polite a reception, and regaled them in ſo noble and generous a manner, as charmed them all; but that which moſt ſurpriſed them was, the good ſenſe and judgment he diſcovered in the ſeveral converſations they had with him. He did not propoſe to them any thing that was trifling; and like one of his age; ſuch, for inſtance, as inquiring about the ſo-much boaſted gardens ſuſpended in the air, the riches and magnificence of the palace, and court of the king of Perſia, which excited the admiration of the whole world; the famous golden plantane-tree; [e] and that golden vine, the grapes of which were of emeralds, carbuncles, rubies, and all ſorts of precious ſtones, under which the Perſian monarch was ſaid frequently to give audience: Alexander, I ſay, aſked them queſtions of a quite different nature, inquiring which was the road to Upper Aſia; the diſtance of the ſeveral places; in what the ſtrength and power of the king of Perſia conſiſted; in what part of the battle he fought; how he behaved towards his enemies; and in what manner he governed his ſubjects. Theſe ambaſſadors admired him all the while; and perceiving even at that time how great he might one day become, they obſerved, in a few words, the difference they found between Alexander and [f] Artaxerxes, by ſaying one to another, * " This young prince is great, and ours is rich." That man muſt be vaſtly inſignificant, who has no other merit than his riches!

So ripe a judgment in this young prince, was owing as much to the good education which had been given him, as to the happineſs of his natural parts. Several preceptors were appointed to teach him all ſuch arts and ſciences as are worthy the heir to a great kingdom; and the chief of theſe was Leonidas, a perſon of the moſt ſevere morals, and a relation of the queen. Alexander himſelf tells us afterwards, that this Leonidas, in their journies together, uſed frequently

[e] Athen. l. xii. p. 739. [f] Artaxerxes Ochus.

* Ο παις υτος, βασιλευς μεγας· ο δε ημετερος, πλουσιος.

to look into the trunks where his beds and clothes were laid, in order to ſee if Olympias his mother had not put ſomething ſuperfluous into them, which might adminiſter to delicacy and luxury. But the greateſt ſervice Philip did his ſon, was appointing Ariſtotle his preceptor, the moſt famous and the moſt learned philoſopher of his age, whom he entruſted with the whole care of his education. ε One of the reaſons which prompted Philip to chooſe him a maſter of ſo conſpicuous a reputation and merit was, as he himſelf tells us, that his ſon might avoid committing a great many faults, of which he himſelf had been guilty.

Philip was ſenſible, how great a treaſure he poſſeſſed in the perſon of Ariſtotle; for which reaſon he ſettled a very conſiderable ſtipend upon him, and afterwards rewarded his pains and care in an infinitely more glorious manner; for having deſtroyed and laid waſte the city of * Stagira, the native place of that philoſopher, he rebuilt it, purely out of affection for him; reinſtated the inhabitants who had fled from it, or were made ſlaves; and gave them a fine park in the neighbourhood of Stagira, as a place for their ſtudies and aſſemblies. Even in Plutarch's time, the ſtone ſeats which Ariſtotle had placed there were ſtanding; as alſo ſpacious viſtoes, under which thoſe who walked were ſhaded from the ſun-beams.

Alexander likewiſe diſcovered no leſs eſteem for his maſter, whom he believed himſelf bound to love as much as if he had been his father; declaring, † "That he was indebted to the one for living, and to the other for living well." The progreſs of the pupil was equal to the care and abilities of the preceptor. ‡ He grew vaſtly fond of philoſophy; and learned the ſeveral parts of it, but in a manner ſuitable to his birth. Ariſtotle endeavoured to improve his judgment by laying down ſure and certain rules, by which he might diſtinguiſh juſt and ſolid reaſoning from what is but ſpeciouſly ſo; and by accuſtoming him to ſeparate in diſcourſe all ſuch parts as only dazzle, from thoſe which are truly ſolid, and ſhould conſtitute its whole value. He alſo exerciſed him in metaphyſics, which may be

ε Plut. in Apophtheg. p. 178.

* A city of Macedon, near the ſea-ſhore.

† Ως δι εκεινον μεν ζων, δια τουτον δε καλως ζων.

‡ *Retinuit ex ſapientia modum.* TACIT.

of great benefit to a prince, provided he applies himſelf to them with moderation, as they explain to him the nature of the human mind; how greatly it differs from matter; in what manner he perceives ſpiritual things; how he is ſenſible of the impreſſion of thoſe that ſurround him, and many other queſtions of the like import. The reader will naturally ſuppoſe, that he did not omit either the mathematics, which give the mind ſo juſt a turn of thinking; or the wonders of nature, the ſtudy of which, beſides a great many other advantages, ſhows how very incapable the mind of man is to diſcover the ſecret principles of the things to which he is daily an eye-witneſs. But Alexander applied himſelf chiefly to morality, which is properly the ſcience of kings, becauſe it is the knowledge of mankind, and of all their duties. This he made his ſerious and profound ſtudy; and conſidered it, even at that time, as the foundation of prudence and wiſe policy. How much muſt ſuch an education contribute to the good conduct of a prince with regard to his own intereſts and the government of his people?

[h] The greateſt maſter of rhetoric that antiquity could ever boaſt, and who has left ſo excellent a treatiſe on that ſubject, took care to make that ſcience part of his pupil's education; and we find that Alexander, even in the midſt of his conqueſts, was often very urgent with Ariſtotle to ſend him a treatiſe on that ſubject. To this we owe the work intitled *Alexander's Rhetorick*; in the beginning of which, Ariſtotle proves to him the vaſt advantages a prince may reap from eloquence, as it gives him the greateſt aſcendant over the minds of men, which he ought to acquire as well by his wiſdom as authority. Some anſwers and letters of Alexander, which are ſtill extant, ſhow that he poſſeſſed, in its greateſt perfection, that ſtrong, that manly eloquence, which abounds with ſenſe and ideas; and which is ſo entirely free from ſuperfluous expreſſions, that every ſingle word has its meaning; which, properly ſpeaking, is the eloquence of kings.

His eſteem, or rather his paſſion * for Homer, ſhows, not only with what vigour and ſucceſs he applied himſelf to polite literature, but the judicious uſe he made of it, and the

[h] Ariſtot. in Rhetor. ad Alex. p. 608, 609.

* *Imperatoria brevitate.* TACIT.

ſolid advantages he propoſed to himſelf from it. He was not prompted to peruſe this poet merely out of curioſity, or to unbend his mind, or from a great fondneſs for poeſy; but his view in ſtudying this admirable writer was, in order to borrow ſuch ſentiments from him, as are worthy a great king, and conqueror; courage, intrepidity, magnanimity, temperance, prudence; the art of commanding well in war and peace. And, indeed, the verſe which pleaſed him moſt in Homer,* was that where *Agamemnon* is repreſented as *a good king, and a brave warrior.*

After this it is no wonder that Alexander ſhould have ſo high an eſteem for this poet. Thus, when after the battle of Arbela, the Macedonians had found among the ſpoils of Darius a gold box (enriched with precious ſtones) in which the excellent perfumes uſed by that prince were put; Alexander, who was quite covered with duſt, and regardleſs of eſſences and perfumes, ordered that this box ſhould be employed to no other uſe than to hold Homer's poems, which he believed the moſt perfect, the moſt precious † production of the human mind. He admired particularly the Iliad, which he called, ‡ "The beſt proviſion for a warrior." He always had with him that edition of Homer which Ariſtotle had reviſed and corrected, and to which the title of the *Edition of the Box* was given; and he laid it, with his ſword, every night, under his pillow.

[i] Fond, even to exceſs, of every kind of glory, he was diſpleaſed with Ariſtotle, his maſter, for having publiſhed, in his abſence, certain metaphyſical pieces, which he himſelf deſired to poſſeſs only; and even at the time when he was employed in the conqueſt of Aſia, and the purſuit of Darius, he wrote to him a letter, which is ſtill extant, wherein he complains upon that very account. Alexander ſays in it, that "he || had much rather ſurpaſs the reſt of men in the

[i] Aul. Gel. l. xx. c. 5.

* Αμφοτερων, βασιλευς τ' αγαθος, κρατερος τ' αιχμητης. Iliad. 3. v. 172.

† *Pretioſiſſimum humani animi opus.* PLIN. l. vii. c. 29.

‡ Της πολεμικης αρετης εφοδιον. The word which I have not been able to render better, ſignifies, that we find in the Iliad whatever relates to the art of war, and the qualities of a general; in a word, all things neceſſary to form a good commander.

|| Εγω δε βελοιμην αν ταις περι τα αριστα εμπειριαις, η ταις δυναμεσιν διαφερειν.

"knowledge of ſublime and excellent things, than the great-"neſs and extent of his power." He in like manner requeſted[k] Ariſtotle, not to ſhow the treatiſe of rhetoric above mentioned to any perſon but himſelf. I will confeſs, that there is an exceſs in this ſtrong deſire of glory which prompts him to ſuppreſs the merit of others, in order that his only may appear; but then we at leaſt muſt confeſs, that it diſcovers ſuch a paſſion for ſtudy as is very laudable in a prince; and the very reverſe of that indifference, not to ſay contempt and averſion, which moſt young perſons of high birth expreſs for all things that relate to learning and ſtudy.

Plutarch tells us in few words, the infinite advantage that Alexander reaped from this taſte, with which his maſter (than whom no man poſſeſſed greater talents for the education of youth) had inſpired him from his moſt tender infancy. "He loved (ſaid that author) to converſe with learned men, to improve himſelf in knowledge, and to ſtudy*;" three ſources of a monarch's happineſs, and which enable him to ſecure himſelf from numberleſs difficulties; three certain and infallible methods of learning to reign without the aſſiſtance of others. The converſation of perſons of fine ſenſe, inſtructs a prince by way of amuſement, and teaches him a thouſand curious and uſeful things without coſting him the leaſt trouble. The leſſons which able maſters give him, on the moſt exalted ſciences, and particularly upon politics, improve his mind wonderfully, and furniſh him with rules to govern his ſubjects with wiſdom. In fine, ſtudy, eſpecially that of hiſtory, crowns all the reſt, and is to him a preceptor for all ſeaſons, and for all hours, who, without ever growing troubleſome, acquaints him with truths which no one elſe would dare to tell him, and under fictitious names, exhibits the prince to himſelf; teaches him to know himſelf as well as mankind, who are the ſame in all ages. Alexander owed all theſe advantages to the excellent education Ariſtotle gave him.

[l] He had alſo a taſte for the whole circle of arts, but in ſuch a manner as became a prince; that is, he knew the value and uſefulneſs of them. Muſick, painting, ſculpture, archi-

[k] Ariſt. p. 609. [l] Plut. de Fortun. Alex. Serm. ii. p. 333.

* Ην φιλολογος, και φιλομαθης, και φιλαναγνωστης.

tecture, flouriſhed in his reign, becauſe they found * in him both a ſkilful judge, and a generous protector, who was able to diſtinguiſh and reward merit.

[m] But deſpiſed certain trifling feats of dexterity, that were of no uſe. Some Macedonians admired very much a man, who employed himſelf very attentively in throwing ſmall peaſe through the eye of a † needle, which he would do at a conſiderable diſtance, and without once miſſing. Alexander ſeeing him at this exerciſe, ordered him, as we are told, a preſent ſuitable to his employment, viz. a baſket of peaſe.

Alexander was of a ſprightly diſpoſition; was reſolute, and very tenacious of his opinion, which never gave way to force, but at the ſame time would ſubmit immediately to reaſon and good ſenſe. It is very difficult to treat with perſons of this turn of mind. Philip accordingly, notwithſtanding his double authority of king and father, believed it neceſſary to employ perſuaſion rather than force with reſpect to his ſon, and endeavoured to make himſelf beloved rather than feared by him.

An accident made him entertain a very advantageous opinion of Alexander. There had been ſent from Theſſaly to Philip a war-horſe, a noble, ſtrong, fiery, generous beaſt, called ‡ Bucephalus. The owner would ſell him for thirteen talents, about 1900*l.* ſterling. The king went into the plains, attended by his courtiers, in order to view the perfections of this horſe; but upon trial he appeared ſo very fierce, and pranced about in ſo furious a manner, that no one dared to mount him. Philip, being angry that ſo furious and unmanageable a creature had been ſent him, gave orders for their carrying him back again. Alexander, who was preſent at that time, cried out, "What a noble horſe they are going to loſe, for want of addreſs and boldneſs to back him!" Philip, at firſt, conſidered theſe words as the effect of folly and raſhneſs, ſo common to young men: but as Alexander inſiſted ſtill more upon what he had ſaid, and was very much vexed to ſee ſo noble a creature juſt going to be ſent home again, his

[m] Quintil. lib. ii. cap. 21.

* Μαρτυρα ελαδον ἡ θεατην, τον αξιςα κριναι το καταξθεμενον, ἡ μαλιςα αμειψασθαι δυναμενον.

† We may ſuppoſe it was ſome inſtrument in the ſhape of a needle.

‡ Some think he was called ſo, becauſe his head was like that of an ox.

father gave him leave to try what he could do. The young prince, overjoyed at this permiſſion, goes up to Bucephalus, takes hold of the bridle, and turns his head to the ſun; having obſerved that the thing which frighted him was his own ſhadow, he ſeeing it dance about, or ſink down, in proportion as he moved. He, therefore, firſt ſtroked him gently with his hand, and ſoothed him with his voice; then ſeeing his metal abate, and artfully taking his opportunity, he let fall his cloak, and ſpringing ſwiftly upon his back, firſt ſlackens the rein, without once ſtriking or vexing him: and when he perceived that his fire was cooled, that he was no longer ſo furious and violent, and wanted only to move forward, he gave him the rein, and ſpurring him with great vigour, animated him with his voice to his full ſpeed. While this was doing, Philip and his whole court trembled for fear, and did not once open their lips; but when the prince, after having run his firſt heat, returned with joy and pride, at his having broke a horſe which was judged abſolutely ungovernable, all the courtiers in general endeavoured to outvie one another in their applauſes and congratulations; and we are told, Philip ſhed tears of joy on this occaſion, and embracing Alexander after he was alighted, and kiſſing his head, he ſaid to him, "My ſon, ſeek a kingdom more worthy of thee, for Macedon is below thy merit."

We are told a great many ſurpriſing particulars of this Bucephalus; for whatever had any relation to Alexander, was to be of the marvellous kind. [n] When this creature was ſaddled and equipped for battle, he would ſuffer no one to back him but his maſter; and it would not have been ſafe for any other perſon to go near him. Whenever Alexander wanted to mount him, he would kneel down upon his two fore-feet. According to ſome hiſtorians, in the battle againſt Porus, where Alexander had plunged too imprudently amidſt a body of the enemy, his horſe, though wounded in every part of his body, did however exert himſelf in ſo vigorous a manner, that he ſaved his maſter's life; and notwithſtanding the deep wounds he had received, and though almoſt ſpent through the great effuſion of blood, he brought off Alexander from among

[n] Aul. Gel. l. v. c. 2.

the combatants, and carried him with inexpreſſible vigour to a place of ſecurity; where perceiving * the king was no longer in danger, and over-joyed in ſome meaſure at the ſervice he had done him, he expired. This indeed is a very noble end for a horſe. Others ſay, that Bucephalus, quite worn out, died at thirty years of age. Alexander bewailed his death bitterly, believing that he had loſt in him a moſt faithful and affectionate friend; and afterwards built a city on the very ſpot where he was buried, near the river Hydaſpes, and called it *Bucephalia*, in honour of him.

I have related elſewhere, that Alexander, at ſixteen years of age, was appointed regent of Macedonia, and inveſted with abſolute authority during his father's abſence; that he behaved with great prudence and bravery; and that afterwards he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a moſt ſignal manner at the battle of Chæronea.

SECT. II. *Alexander, after the death of Philip, aſcends the throne at twenty years of age. He ſubjects and reduces the nations contiguous to Macedon who had revolted. He goes into Greece to diſſolve the alliance formed againſt him. He poſſeſſes himſelf of, and deſtroys Thebes, and pardons the Athenians. He gets himſelf nominated, in the diet or aſſembly at Corinth, generaliſſimo of the Greeks againſt Perſia. He returns to Macedon, and makes preparations for carrying his arms into Aſia.*

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. DARIUS and Alexander began to reign the ſame year: the latter was but twenty when he ſucceeded to the crown. His firſt care was to ſolemnize the funeral obſequies of his father with the utmoſt pomp, and to revenge his death.

Upon his acceſſion to the throne, he ſaw himſelf ſurrounded with extreme dangers. The barbarous nations againſt whom Philip had fought during his whole reign, and from whom he had made ſeveral conqueſts, which he had united to his crown, after having dethroned their natural kings, thought proper to take the advantage of this juncture, in which a new prince,

o Plut. in Alex. p. 670, 672. Diod. l. xvii. p. 486—489. Arrian. l. i. de Expedit. Alex. p. 2—23.

* *Et domini jam ſuperſtitis ſecurus, quaſi cum ſenſus humani ſolatio, animam expiravit.* AUL. GELL.

who was but young, had aſcended the throne, for recovering their liberty, and uniting againſt the common uſurper. Nor was he under leſs apprehenſions from Greece. Philip, though he had permitted the ſeveral cities and commonwealths to continue their ancient form of government, had however entirely changed it in reality, and made himſelf abſolute maſter of it. Though he were abſent, he nevertheleſs ruled in all the aſſemblies; and not a ſingle reſolution was taken, but in ſubordination to his will. Though he had ſubdued all Greece, either by the terror of his arms, or the ſecret machinations of policy, he had not had time ſufficient to ſubject and accuſtom it to his power, but had left all things in it in great ferment and diſorder, the minds of the vanquiſhed not being yet calmed nor moulded to ſubjection.

The Macedonians reflecting on this precarious ſituation of things, adviſed Alexander to relinquiſh Greece, and not perſiſt in his reſolution of ſubduing it by force; * to recover by gentle methods the Barbarians who had taken arms, and to ſooth, as it were, thoſe glimmerings of revolt and innovation by prudent reſerve, complacency, and inſinuations, in order to conciliate affection. However, Alexander would not liſten to theſe timorous counſels, but reſolved to ſecure and ſupport his affairs by boldneſs and magnanimity; firmly perſuaded, that ſhould he relax in any point at firſt, all his neighbours would fall upon him; and that were he to endeavour to compromiſe matters, he ſhould be obliged to give up all Philip's conqueſts, and by that means confine his dominions to the narrow limits of Macedon. He, therefore, made all poſſible haſte to check the arms of the Barbarians, by marching his troops to the banks of the Danube, which he croſſed in one night. He defeated the King of the Triballi in a great battle; made the Getæ fly at his approach; ſubdued ſeveral barbarous nations, ſome by the terror of his name, and others by force of arms; and notwithſtanding the arrogant † anſwer of their ambaſſadors, he taught them to dread a danger ſtill more near them than the falling of the ſky and planets.

* Θεραπευειν τας αρχας των νεωτερισμων.

† Alexander, imagining that his name only had ſtruck theſe people with terror, aſked their ambaſſadors what things they dreaded moſt? They replied, with a haughty tone of voice, that they were afraid of nothing but the falling of the ſky and ſtars.

Whilſt Alexander was thus employed at a diſtance againſt the Barbarians, all the cities of Greece, who were animated more particularly by Demoſthenes, formed a powerful alliance againſt that prince. A falſe report, which prevailed of his death, inſpired the Thebans with a boldneſs that proved their ruin. They cut to pieces part of the Macedonian garriſon in their citadel. [p] Demoſthenes, on the other ſide, was every day haranguing the people; and fired with contempt for Alexander, whom he called *a child*, and a * hair-brained boy, he aſſured the Athenians, with a deciſive tone of voice, that they had nothing to fear from the new King of Macedon, who did not dare to ſtir out of his kingdom; but would think himſelf vaſtly happy, could he ſit peaceably on his throne. At the ſame time he writ letters upon letters to Attalus, one of Philip's lieutenants in Aſia Minor, to excite him to rebel. This Attalus was uncle to Cleopatra, Philip's ſecond wife, and was very much diſpoſed to liſten to Demoſthenes's propoſals. Nevertheleſs, as Alexander was grown very diffident of him, for which he knew there was but too much reaſon; he, therefore, to eradicate from his mind all the ſuſpicions he might entertain, and the better to ſcreen his deſigns, ſent all Demoſthenes's letters to that prince. But Alexander ſaw through all his artifices, and thereupon ordered Hecatæus, one of his commanders, whom he had ſent into Aſia for that purpoſe, to have him aſſaſſinated, which was executed accordingly. Attalus's death reſtored tranquillity to the army, and entirely deſtroyed the ſeeds of diſcord and rebellion.

A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

When Alexander had ſecured his kingdom from the Barbarians, he marched with the utmoſt expedition towards Greece, and paſſed the Thermopylæ. He then ſpoke as follows to thoſe who accompanied him: "Demoſthenes called me, in his orations, a child, when I was in Illyria, and among the Triballi; he called me a young man when I was in Theſſaly; and I muſt now ſhow him, before the walls of Athens, that I am a man grown." He appeared ſo ſuddenly in Bœotia, that the Thebans could ſcarce believe their eyes; and being come before their walls, was willing to give them time to re-

[p] Æſchin. contra Cteſiph. p. 453.

* It is μαργιτης; in Greek, a word which ſignifies many things in that language.

pent, and only demanded to have Phœnix and Prothutes, the two chief ringleaders of the revolt, delivered up to him; and publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, a general pardon to all who ſhould come over to him. But the Thebans, by way of inſult, demanded to have Philotas and Antipater delivered to them; and invited, by a declaration, all who were ſollicitous for the liberty of Greece, to join with them in its defence.

Alexander, finding it impoſſible for him to get the better of their obſtinacy by offers of peace, ſaw with grief, that he ſhould be forced to employ his power, and decide the affair by force of arms. A great battle was thereupon fought, in which the Thebans exerted themſelves with a bravery and ardour much beyond their ſtrength, for the enemy exceeded them vaſtly in numbers: but after a long and vigorous reſiſtance, ſuch as ſurvived of the Macedonian garriſon in the citadel, coming down from it, and charging the Thebans in the rear, ſurrounded on all ſides, the greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and the city was taken and plundered.

It would be impoſſible for words to expreſs the dreadful calamities which the Thebans ſuffered on this occaſion. Some Thracians having pulled down the houſe of a virtuous lady of quality, Timoclea by name, carried off all her goods and treaſures; and their captain having ſeized the lady, and ſatiated his brutal luſt with her, afterwards inquired whether ſhe had not concealed gold and ſilver. Timoclea, animated by an ardent deſire of revenge, replying that ſhe had hid ſome, took him with herſelf only into her garden, and ſhowing him a well, told him, that the inſtant ſhe ſaw the enemy enter the city, ſhe herſelf had thrown into it the moſt valuable things in her poſſeſſion. The officer overjoyed at what he heard, drew near the well, and ſtooping down to ſee its depth, Timoclea, who was behind, puſhing him with all her ſtrength, threw him into the well, and afterwards killed him with great ſtones which ſhe threw upon him. She was inſtantly ſeized by the Thracians, and being bound in chains, was carried before Alexander. The prince perceived immediately by her mien that ſhe was a woman of quality and great ſpirit, for ſhe followed thoſe brutal wretches with a very haughty air, and without diſcovering the leaſt fear. Alexander aſking her who ſhe was, Timoclea replied, I am ſiſter to Theagenes, who fought againſt Philip for the liberty of Greece, and was killed

in the battle of Chæronea, where he commanded. The prince, admiring the generous anſwer of that lady, and ſtill more the action that ſhe had done, gave orders that ſhe ſhould have leave to retire wherever ſhe pleaſed with her children.

Alexander then debated in council, how to act with regard to Thebes. The Phocæans and the people of Platææ, Theſpiæ, and Orchomenus, who were all in alliance with Alexander, and had ſhared in his victory, repreſented to him the cruel treatment they had met with from the Thebans, who alſo had deſtroyed their ſeveral cities; and reproached them with the zeal which they had always diſcovered, in favour of the Perſians againſt the Greeks, who held them in the utmoſt deteſtation; the proof of which was, the oath they all had taken to deſtroy Thebes, after they ſhould have vanquiſhed the Perſians.

Cleades, one of the priſoners, being permitted to ſpeak, endeavoured to excuſe in ſome meaſure the revolt of the Thebans; a fault, which, in his opinion, ſhould be imputed to a raſh and credulous imprudence, rather than to depravity of will and declared perfidy. He remonſtrated, that his countrymen, upon a falſe report of Alexander's death, had indeed too raſhly broke into rebellion, not againſt the king, but againſt his ſucceſſors. That what crimes ſoever they might have committed, they had been puniſhed for them with the utmoſt ſeverity, by the dreadful calamity which had befallen their city. That there now remained in it none but women, children, and old men, from whom they had nothing to fear; and who were ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they had been no ways concerned in the revolt. He concluded with reminding Alexander, that Thebes, which had given birth to ſo many gods and heroes, ſeveral of whom were that king's anceſtors, had alſo been the ſeat of his father Philip's riſing glory, and like a ſecond native country to him.

Theſe motives, which Cleades urged, were very ſtrong and powerful; nevertheleſs, the anger of the conqueror prevailed, and the city was deſtroyed. However, he ſet at liberty the prieſts; all ſuch as had right of hoſpitality with the Macedonians; the deſcendants of Pindar, the famous Poet, who had done ſo much honour to Greece; and ſuch as had oppoſed the revolt: but all the reſt, in number about thirty thouſand, he ſold, and upwards of ſix thouſand had been killed in battle.

The Athenians were ſo ſenſibly afflicted at the ſad diſaſter which had befallen Thebes, that being about to ſolemnize the feſtival of the great myſteries, they ſuſpended them, upon account of their extreme grief, and received with the greateſt humanity all thoſe who had fled from the battle, and the plunder of Thebes, and made Athens their aſylum.

Alexander's ſo ſudden arrival in Greece, had very much abated the haughtineſs of the Athenians, and extinguiſhed Demoſthenes's vehemence and fire; but the ruin of Thebes, which was ſtill more ſudden, threw them into the utmoſt conſternation. They, therefore, had recourſe to intreaties, and ſent a deputation to Alexander, to implore his clemency. Demoſthenes was among them; but he was no ſooner arrived at mount Cytheron, than dreading the anger of that prince, he quitted the embaſſy, and returned home.

Immediately Alexander ſent to Athens, requiring the citizens to deliver up to him ten orators, whom he ſuppoſed to have been the chief inſtruments in forming the league which Philip his father had defeated at Chæronea. It was on this occaſion Demoſthenes related to the people the fable of the wolves and dogs, in which it is ſuppoſed, "That the wolves one day told the ſheep, that in caſe they deſired to be at peace with them, they muſt deliver up to them the dogs who were their guard." The application was eaſy and natural, eſpecially with reſpect to the orators, who were juſtly compared to dogs, whoſe duty is to watch, to bark, and to fight, in order to ſave the lives of the flock.

In this prodigious dilemma of the Athenians, who could not prevail with themſelves to deliver up their orators to certain death, though they had no other way to ſave their city, Demades, whom Alexander had honoured with his friendſhip, offered to undertake the embaſſy alone, and intercede for them. The king, whether he had ſatiated his revenge, or endeavoured to blot out, if poſſible, by ſome act of clemency, the barbarous action he had juſt before committed; or rather, to remove the ſeveral obſtacles which might retard the execution of his grand deſign, and by that means not leave, during his abſence, the leaſt pretence for murmurs, waved his demand with regard to the delivery of the orators, and was pacified by their ſending Caridemus into baniſhment, who

being a native of * Orea, had been preſented by the Athenians with his freedom, for the ſervices he had done the republic. He was ſon-in-law to Cherſobleptus, King of Thrace; had learned the art of war under Iphicrates and had himſelf frequently commanded the Athenian armies. To avoid the purſuit of Alexander, he took refuge with the King of Perſia.

As for the Athenians, he not only forgave them the ſeveral injuries he pretended to have received, but expreſſed a particular regard for them, exhorting them to apply themſelves vigorouſly to public affairs, and to keep a watchful eye over the ſeveral tranſactions which might happen; becauſe, in caſe of his death, their city was to give laws to the reſt of Greece. Hiſtorians relate, that many years after this expedition, he was ſeiſed with deep remorſe for the calamity he had brought upon the Thebans, and that this made him behave with much greater humanity towards many other nations.

So dreadful an example of ſeverity towards ſo powerful a city as Thebes, ſpread the terror of his arms through all Greece, and made all things give way before him. He ſummoned, at Corinth, the † aſſembly of the ſeveral ſtates and free cities of Greece, to obtain from them the ſame ſupreme command againſt the Perſians as had been granted his father a little before his death. No diet ever debated on a more important ſubject. It was the weſtern world deliberating upon the ruin of the eaſt, and the methods for executing a revenge ſuſpended more than an age. The aſſembly held at this time will give riſe to events, the relation of which will appear aſtoniſhing and almoſt incredible; and to revolutions, which will change the diſpoſition of moſt things in the world.

To form ſuch a deſign required a prince bold, enterpriſing, and experienced in war; one of great views, who having acquired a mighty name by his exploits, was not to be intimidated by dangers, nor checked by obſtacles; but above all, a monarch who had a ſupreme authority over all the ſtates of Greece, none of which ſingly was powerful enough to make ſo arduous an attempt; and which required, in order for their

* A city of Eubœa.

† Plutarch places that diet or aſſembly here, but others fix it earlier; whence Dr. Prideaux ſuppoſed that it was ſummoned twice.

acting in concert, to be ſubject to one chief, who might give motion to the ſeveral parts of that great body, by making them all concur to the ſame end. Such a prince was Alexander. It was not difficult for him to rekindle in the minds of the people their ancient hatred of the Perſians, their perpetual and irreconcileable enemies; whoſe deſtruction they had more than once ſwore, and whom they had determined to extirpate, in caſe an opportunity ſhould preſent itſelf for that purpoſe; a hatred which the inteſtine feuds of the Greeks might indeed have ſuſpended, but could never extinguiſh. The immortal retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, notwithſtanding the vigorous oppoſition of the prodigious army of the Perſians; the terror which Ageſilaus, with a handful of men, had ſtruck even as far as Suſa; ſhowed plainly what might be expected from an army, compoſed of the flower of the forces of all the cities of Greece, and thoſe of Macedon, commanded by generals and officers formed under Philip; and, to ſay all in a word, led by Alexander. The deliberations of the aſſembly were therefore very ſhort, and that prince was unanimouſly appointed generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians.

Immediately a great number of officers and governors of cities, with many philoſophers, waited upon Alexander, to congratulate him upon his election. He flattered himſelf, that Diogenes of Synope, who was then at Corinth, would alſo come like the reſt, and pay his compliments. This philoſopher, who entertained a very mean idea of grandeur, thought it improper to congratulate men juſt upon their exaltation; but that mankind ought to wait till thoſe perſons have performed actions worthy of their high ſtations. Diogenes therefore did not ſtir out of his houſe; upon which Alexander, attended by all his courtiers, made him a viſit. The philoſopher was at that time lying down in the ſun; but ſeeing ſo great a crowd of people advancing towards him, he ſat up, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. This prince ſurpriſed to ſee ſo famous a philoſopher reduced to ſuch extreme poverty, after ſaluting him in the kindeſt manner, aſked whether he wanted any thing? Diogenes replied, "Yes, that you would ſtand a little out of my ſun-ſhine." This anſwer raiſed the contempt and indignation of all the courtiers; but the monarch, ſtruck with the philoſopher's greatneſs of ſoul, "Were I not

Alexander," ſays he, " I would be Diogenes." A very profound ſenſe lies hid in this expreſſion, which ſhows perfectly the bent and diſpoſition of the heart of man. Alexander is ſenſible that he is formed to poſſeſs all things; ſuch is his deſtiny, in which he makes his happineſs conſiſt: but then in caſe he ſhould not be able to compaſs his ends, he is alſo ſenſible, that to be happy, he muſt endeavour to bring his mind to ſuch a frame as to want nothing. In a word, *all or nothing* preſents us with the true image of Alexander and Diogenes. * How great and powerful ſoever that prince might think himſelf, he could not deny himſelf, on this occaſion, inferior to a man, to whom he could give, and from whom he could take, nothing.

Alexander, before he ſet out for Aſia, was determined to conſult the oracle of Apollo. He therefore went to Delphos; he happened to arrive at it on thoſe days which are called *unlucky*, a ſeaſon in which people were forbid conſulting the oracle; and accordingly the prieſteſs refuſed to go to the temple. But Alexander, who could not bear any contradiction to his will, took her forcibly by the arm; and, as he was leading her to the temple, ſhe cried out, † " My ſon, thou art irreſiſtible." This was all he deſired; and catching hold of theſe words, which he conſidered as ſpoke by the oracle, he ſet out for Macedonia, in order to make preparations for his great expedition.

Note, with regard to the ſequel of this hiſtory.

I could have wiſhed, and it was even my deſign, to prefix to the exploits of Alexander, a geographical map, as I did to thoſe of Cyrus the Younger; this being of great aſſiſtance to the reader, and enables him to follow the hero in all his conqueſts. But it was not in my power to do this here, the map of Alexander's conqueſts being too large to be conveniently inſerted in this volume. But to ſupply, in ſome meaſure, this defect, I ſhall here give, in one view, a ſhort account of thoſe countries through which Alexander paſſed, till his return from India.

Alexander ſets out from Macedonia, which is part of

* *Homo ſupra menſuram humanæ ſuperbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem, cui nec dare quidquam poſſet, nec eripere.* SENECA de Benef. l. v. c. 6. † Ανικητ᾽ει ω παι.

Turkey in Europe, and croſſes the Helleſpont, or the Straits of the Dardanelles.

He croſſes Aſia Minor (Natolia) where he fights two battles; the firſt at the paſs of the river Granicus, and the ſecond near the city of Iſſus.

After this ſecond battle, he enters Syria and Paleſtine; goes into Egypt, where he builds Alexandria, on one of the arms of the Nile; advances as far as Lybia to the temple of Jupiter Ammon; whence he returns back, arrives at Tyre, and from thence marches towards the Euphrates.

He croſſes that river, then the Tygris, and gains the celebrated victory of Arbela; poſſeſſes himſelf of * Babylon, and Ecbatana, the chief city of Media.

From thence he paſſes into Hyrcania, to the ſea which goes by that name, otherwiſe called the Caſpian ſea; and enters Parthia, Drangiana, and the country of Paropamiſus.

He afterwards goes into Bactriana and Sogdiana; advances as far as the river Iaxarthes, called by Quintus Curtius the Tanais, the farther ſide of which is inhabited by the Scythians, whoſe country forms part of Great Tartary.

Alexander, after having gone through various countries, croſſes the river Indus; enters India, which lies on this ſide the Ganges, and forms part of the Grand Mogul's empire, and advances very near the river Ganges, which he alſo intended to paſs, had not his army refuſed to follow him. He therefore contents himſelf with marching to view the ocean, and goes down the river Indus to its mouth.

From Macedonia to the Ganges, almoſt to which river Alexander marched, is computed at leaſt eleven hundred leagues.

Add to this the various turnings in Alexander's marches, firſt, from the extremity of Cilicia, where the battle of Iſſus was fought, to the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Lybia; and his returning from thence to Tyre, a journey of three hundred leagues at leaſt, and as much ſpace at leaſt for the windings of his route in different places; we ſhall find that Alexander, in leſs than eight years, marched his army upwards of ſeventeen hundred leagues, without including his return to Babylon.

* The capital of Babylonia.

SECT. III. *Alexander ſets out from Macedon upon his expedition againſt the Perſians. He arrives at Ilion, and pays great honour to the tomb of Achilles. He fights the firſt battle againſt the Perſians at the river Granicus, and obtains a famous victory.*

A. M. 3670. Ant. J. C. 334.

[r] ALEXANDER being arrived in his kingdom, held a council with the chief officers of his army, and the grandees of his court, on the expedition he meditated againſt Perſia, and the meaſures he ſhould take in order to ſucceed in it. The whole aſſembly was unanimous, except on one article. Antipater and Parmenio were of opinion, that the king, before he engaged in an enterpriſe which would neceſſarily be a long one, ought to make choice of a conſort in order to ſecure himſelf a ſucceſſor to his throne. But Alexander, who was of a violent, fiery temper, did not approve of this advice; and believed, that after he had been nominated generaliſſimo of the Greeks, and that his father had left him an invincible army, it would be a ſhame for him to loſe his time in ſolemniſing his nuptials, and waiting for the fruits of it; for which reaſon he determined to ſet out immediately.

Accordingly he offered up very ſplendid ſacrifices to the gods, and cauſed to be celebrated at Dia, a city of Macedon, * Scenical games, that had been inſtituted by one of his anceſtors in honour of Jupiter and the Muſes. This feſtival continued nine days, agreeable to the number of thoſe goddeſſes. He had a tent raiſed large enough to hold an hundred tables, on which conſequently nine hundred covers might be laid. To this feaſt, the ſeveral princes of his family, all the ambaſſadors, generals, and officers, were invited. [s] He alſo treated his whole army. It was then he had the famous viſion, in which he was exhorted to march ſpeedily into Aſia, of which mention will be made in the ſequel.

Before he ſet out upon this expedition, he ſettled the affairs of Macedon, over which he appointed Antipater as viceroy, with twelve thouſand foot, and near the ſame number of horſe.

He alſo inquired into the domeſtic affairs of his friends, giving to one an eſtate in land, to another a village, to a third

[r] Diod. l. xvii. p. 499—503. Arrian. l. i. p. 23—36. Plut. in Alex. p. 672, 673. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 5, 6. [s] Joſeph. Antiquit. lib. xi.

* Theatrical repreſentations were ſo called.

the revenues of a town, to a fourth the toll of an harbour. And as all the revenues of his demeſnes were already employed and exhauſted by his donations, Perdiccas ſaid to him, "My lord, what is it you reſerve for yourſelf?" Alexander replying, "Hope:" Says Perdiccas, "The ſame hope ought therefore to ſatisfy us;" and ſo refuſed very generouſly to accept of what the king had appointed him.

The knowledge of the human heart, and the art of governing it, is of great importance to a prince. Now Alexander was ſenſible, that this ſecret conſiſts in making it the intereſt of every individual to promote his grandeur; and to govern his ſubjects in ſuch a manner, that they may feel his power by no other marks than his bounty. It is then the intereſt of every perſon unites with that of the prince. They are one's own poſſeſſions, one's own happineſs which we love in his perſon; and we are ſo many times attached to him (and by as cloſe ties) as there are things we love, and receive from him. All the ſequel of this hiſtory will ſhow, that no perſon ever made a more happy uſe of this maxim than Alexander, who thought himſelf raiſed to the throne, merely that he might do good; and indeed his liberality, which was truly royal, was neither ſatisfied nor exhauſted by the nobleſt acts of beneficence.

Alexander, after having completely ſettled affairs in Macedonia, and uſed all the precautions imaginable, to prevent any troubles from ariſing in it during his abſence, ſet out for Aſia in the beginning of the ſpring. His army conſiſted of little more than thirty thouſand foot, and four or five thouſand horſe; but then they were all brave men; were well diſciplined, and inured to fatigues; had made ſeveral campaigns under Philip; and were each of them*, in caſe of neceſſity, capable of commanding. Moſt of the officers were near threeſcore years of age; and when they were either aſſembled †, or drawn up at the head of a camp, they had the air of a venerable ſenate. Parmenio commanded the infantry. Philotas, his ſon, had eighteen hundred horſe ‡ under him; and Callas, the ſon of Harpalus, the ſame number of Theſſalian cavalry. The reſt of the horſe, who were compoſed of

* *Ut non tam milites, quàm magiſtros militiæ electos putares.* JUSTIN. l. xi. c. 6.

† *Ut, ſi principia caſtrorum cerneres, ſenatum te alicujus priſcæ reip. videre diceres.* Id.

‡ Theſe were all Macedonians.

natives of the ſeveral ſtates of Greece, and amounted to ſix hundred, had their particular commander. The Thracians and Pæonians, who were always in front, were headed by Caſſander. Alexander began his route along the lake Cercinum towards Amphipolis; croſſed the river Strymon, near its mouth; afterwards the Hebrus, and arrived at Seſtos after twenty days' march. He then commanded Parmenio to croſs over from Seſtos to Abydos, with all the horſe and part of the foot; which he accordingly did by the aſſiſtance of an hundred and threeſcore gallies, and ſeveral flat-bottomed veſſels. As for Alexander, he went from Eleontum to the port of the Achaians, himſelf ſteering his own galley; and being got to the middle of the Helleſpont, he ſacrificed a bull to Neptune and the Nereides; and made effuſions in the ſea from a golden cup. It is alſo related, that after having thrown a javelin at the land, as thereby to take poſſeſſion of it, he landed the firſt in Aſia; and leaping from the ſhip, completely armed, and in the higheſt tranſports of joy, he erected altars on the ſhore to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Hercules, for having favoured him with ſo propitious a deſcent. He had done the ſame at his leaving Europe. He depended ſo entirely on the happy ſucceſs of his arms, and the rich ſpoils he ſhould find in Aſia, that he had made very little proviſion for ſo great an expedition; perſuaded that war, when carried on ſucceſsfully, would ſupply all things neceſſary for war. He had but ſeventy * talents in money, to pay his army, and only a month's proviſion. I before obſerved, that he had divided his patrimony among his generals and officers; and a circumſtance of great importance is, that he had inſpired his ſoldiers with ſo much courage and ſecurity, that they fancied they marched, not to precarious war, but certain victory.

[t] Being arrived at the city of Lampſacus, which he was determined to deſtroy, in order to puniſh the rebellion of its inhabitants, Anaximenes, a native of that place, came to him. This man, who was a famous hiſtorian, had been very intimate with Philip his father; and Alexander himſelf had a great eſteem for him, having been his pupil. The king, ſuſpecting the buſineſs he was come upon, to be beforehand with

[t] Val. Max. l. vii. c. 3.

* Seventy thouſand crowns.

him, ſwore, in expreſs terms, that he would never grant his requeſt. "The favour I have to deſire of you," ſays Anaximenes, "is, that you would deſtroy Lampſacus." By this witty evaſion the hiſtorian ſaved his country.

From thence Alexander arrived at Ilion, where he paid great honours to the manes of Achilles, and cauſed games to be celebrated round his tomb. He admired and envied the double felicity of that renowned Grecian, in having found, during his life-time, a faithful friend in Patroclus; and, after his death, a herald in Homer, worthy the greatneſs of his exploits. And indeed *, had it not been for the Iliad, the name of Achilles would have periſhed in the ſame grave with his body.

At laſt Alexander arrived on the banks of the Granicus, a river of Phrygia. The *Satrapæ*, or deputy-lieutenants, waited his coming on the other ſide of it, firmly reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with him. Their army conſiſted of † one hundred thouſand foot, and upwards of ten thouſand horſe. Memnon, who was a Rhodian, and commanded under Darius all the coaſt of Aſia, had adviſed the generals not to venture a battle; but to lay waſte the plains, and even the cities, thereby to ſtarve Alexander's army, and oblige him to return back into Europe. Memnon was the beſt of all Darius's generals, and had been the principal agent in his victories. It is not eaſy to determine what we ought to admire moſt in him; whether his great wiſdom in council, his courage and capacity in the field, or his zeal and attachment to his ſovereign. The counſel he gave on this occaſion was excellent, when we conſider that his enemy was fiery and impetuous; had neither town, magazine, nor place of retreat; that he was entering a country to which he was abſolutely a ſtranger, inhabited by enemies; that delays alone would weaken and ruin him; and that his only hopes lay in giving battle immediately. But Arſites, a Phrygian ſatrap, oppoſed the opinion of Memnon,

* *Cùm in Sigæo ad Achillis tumulum conſtitiſſet: O fortunate, inquit, adoleſcens, qui tuæ virtutis Homerum præconem inveneris! Et verè. Nam, niſi Ilias illa extitiſſet, idem tumulus, qui corpus ejus contexerat, etiam nomen obruiſſet.* Cic. pro Arch. n. 24.

† According to Juſtin, their army conſiſted of ſix hundred thouſand foot, whereas Arrian declares there were no more than twenty thouſand. Both theſe accounts are improbable, and there is doubtleſs ſome fault in the text, and therefore I follow Diodorus Siculus.

and proteſted he would never ſuffer the Grecians to make ſuch havock in the territories he governed. This ill counſel prevailed over that of the foreigner (Memnon) whom the Perſians, to their great prejudice, ſuſpected of a deſign to protract the war, and by that means make himſelf neceſſary to Darius.

Alexander, in the mean time, marched on at the head of his heavy-armed infantry drawn up in two lines, with the cavalry in the wings: the baggage followed in the rear. Being arrived upon the banks of the Granicus, Parmenio adviſed him to encamp there in battle-array, in order that his forces might have time to reſt themſelves, and not to paſs the river till very early next morning, becauſe the enemy would then be leſs able to prevent him. He added, that it would be too dangerous to attempt croſſing a river in ſight of an enemy, eſpecially as that before them was deep, and its banks very craggy; ſo that the Perſian cavalry, who waited their coming in battle-array, on the other ſide, might eaſily defeat them before they were drawn up. That beſides the loſs which would be ſuſtained on this occaſion, this enterpriſe, in caſe it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, would be of dangerous conſequence to their future affairs; the fame and glory of arms depending on the firſt actions.

However, theſe reaſons were not able to make the leaſt impreſſion on Alexander, who declared, that it would be a ſhame, ſhould he, after croſſing the Helleſpont, ſuffer his progreſs to be retarded by a rivulet, for ſo he called the Granicus out of contempt: that they ought to take advantage of the terror, which the ſuddenneſs of his arrival, and the boldneſs of his attempt, had ſpread among the Perſians; and anſwer the high opinion the world conceived of his courage, and the valour of the Macedonians. The enemy's horſe, which was very numerous, lined the whole ſhore, and formed a large front, in order to oppoſe Alexander, wherever he ſhould endeavour to paſs; and the foot, which conſiſted chiefly of Greeks, in Darius's ſervice, was poſted behind, upon an eaſy aſcent.

The two armies continued a long time in ſight of each other, on the banks of the river, as if dreading the event. The Perſians waited till the Macedonians ſhould enter the river, in order to charge them to advantage upon their landing; and the latter ſeemed to be making choice of a place proper for

croſſing, and to ſurvey the countenance of their enemies. Upon this, Alexander having ordered his horſe to be brought, commanded the noblemen of the court to follow him, and behave gallantly. He himſelf commanded the right wing, and Parmenio the left. The king firſt cauſed a ſtrong detachment to march into the river, himſelf following it with the reſt of the forces. He made Parmenio advance afterwards with the left wing. He himſelf led on the right wing into the river, followed by the reſt of the troops; the trumpets ſounding, and the whole army raiſing cries of joy.

The Perſians, ſeeing this detachment advance forward, began to let fly their arrows, and march to a place where the declivity was not ſo great, in order to keep the Macedonians from landing. But now the horſe engaged with great fury; one part endeavouring to land, and the other ſtriving to prevent them. The Macedonians, whoſe cavalry was vaſtly inferior in number, beſides the advantage of the ground, were wounded with the darts that were ſhot from the eminence; not to mention that the flower of the Perſian horſe were drawn together in this place; and that Memnon, in concert with his ſons, commanded there. The Macedonians therefore at firſt gave ground, after having loſt the firſt ranks, which made a vigorous defence. Alexander, who had followed them cloſe, and re-inforced them with his beſt troops, heads them himſelf, animates them by his preſence, puſhes the Perſians, and routs them; upon which the whole army follow after, croſs the river, and attack the enemy on all ſides.

Alexander firſt charged the thickeſt part of the enemy's horſe, in which the generals fought. He himſelf was particularly conſpicuous by his ſhield, and the plume of feathers that overſhadowed his helmet, on the two ſides of which there roſe two wings, as it were, of a great length, and ſo vaſtly white, that they dazzled the eyes of the beholder. The charge was very furious about his perſon; and though only horſe engaged, they fought like foot, man to man, without giving way on either ſide; every one ſtriving to repulſe his adverſary, and gain ground of him. Spithrobates, lieutenant-governor of Ionia, and ſon-in-law to Darius, diſtinguiſhed himſelf above the reſt of the generals by his ſuperior bravery. Being ſurrounded by forty Perſian lords, all of them his relations, of experienced valour, and who never moved from his ſide, he carried terror

wherever he moved. Alexander obſerving in how gallant a manner he ſignaliſed himſelf, clapped ſpurs to his horſe, and advanced towards him. Immediately they engage, and each having thrown a javelin, wounded the other ſlightly. Spithrobates falls furiouſly ſword in hand upon Alexander, who, being prepared for him, thruſts his pike into his face, and laid him dead at his feet. At that very moment, Roſaces, brother to that nobleman, charging him on the ſide, gives him ſo furious a blow on the head with his battle-axe, that he beat off his plume, but went no deeper than the hair. As he was going to repeat his blow on the head, which now appeared through his fractured helmet, Clitus cuts off Roſaces's hand with one ſtroke of his ſcimetar, and by that means ſaved his ſovereign's life. The danger to which Alexander had been expoſed, greatly animated the courage of his ſoldiers, who now perform wonders. The Perſians in the centre of the horſe, upon whom the light-armed troops, who had been poſted in the intervals of the horſe, poured a perpetual diſcharge of darts; being unable to ſuſtain any longer the attack of the Macedonians, who ſtruck them all in the face, the two wings were immediately broke and put to flight. Alexander did not purſue them long, but turned about immediately to charge the foot.

Theſe, ſays the hiſtorian, at firſt ſtood their ground, which was owing to the ſurpriſe they were ſeiſed with, rather than bravery. But when they ſaw themſelves attacked at the ſame time by the cavalry, and the Macedonian phalanx, which had croſſed the river, and that the battalions were now engaged; thoſe of the Perſians did not make either a long or a vigorous reſiſtance, and were ſoon put to flight, the Grecian infantry in Darius's ſervice excepted. This body of foot retiring to a hill, demanded a promiſe from Alexander to let them march away unmoleſted; but following the dictates of his wrath, rather than thoſe of reaſon, he ruſhed into the midſt of this body of foot, and preſently loſt his horſe, (not Bucephalus) who was killed with the thruſt of a ſword. The battle was ſo hot round him, that moſt of the Macedonians, who loſt their lives on this occaſion, fell here; for they fought againſt a body of men who were well diſciplined, had been inured to war, and fought in deſpair. They were all cut to pieces, two thouſand excepted, who were taken priſoners.

A great number of the chief Perſian commanders lay dead on the ſpot. Arſites fled into Phrygia, where it is ſaid he laid violent hands upon himſelf, for having been the cauſe that the battle was fought. It would have been more glorious for him had he died in the field. Twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand five hundred horſe, were killed in this engagement, on the ſide of the Barbarians; and of the Macedonians, twenty-five of the royal horſe were killed at the firſt attack. Alexander ordered Lyſippus to make their ſtatues in braſs, all which were ſet up in a city of Macedon called Dia, in honour of them, from whence they were many years after carried to Rome by Q. Metellus. About threeſcore of the other horſe were killed; and near thirty foot, who, the next day, were all laid, with their arms and equipage, in one grave; and the king granted an exemption to their fathers and children from every kind of tribute and ſervice.

He alſo took the utmoſt care of the wounded, viſited them, and ſaw their wounds dreſſed. He inquired very particularly into their adventures, and permitted every one of them to relate his actions in the battle, and boaſt his bravery. A prince gains many advantages by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion. He alſo granted the rites of ſepulture to the grandees of Perſia, and did not even refuſe it to ſuch Greeks as died in the Perſian ſervice; but all thoſe whom he took priſoners he laid in chains, and ſent them to work as ſlaves in Macedonia, for having fought under the Barbarian ſtandards againſt their country, contrary to the expreſs prohibition made by Greece upon that head.

Alexander made it his duty and pleaſure to ſhare the honour of his victory with the Greeks; and ſent particularly to the Athenians, three hundred ſhields, being part of the plunder taken from the enemy; and cauſed the glorious inſcription following to be inſcribed on the reſt of the ſpoils: *Alexander, ſon of Philip, with the Greeks (the Lacedæmonians excepted) gained theſe ſpoils from the Barbarians, who inhabit Aſia.* A conduct of this kind argues a very uncommon and amiable greatneſs of ſoul in a conqueror, who generally cannot, without great reluctance, admit others to ſhare in his glory. The greateſt part of the gold and ſilver plate, the purple carpets, and other furniture of the Perſian luxury, he ſent to his mother.

SECT. IV. *Alexander conquers the greateſt part of Aſia Minor. He falls ſick of a mortal diſtemper, occaſioned by bathing in the river Sydnus. Philip the phyſician cures him in a few days. Alexander paſſes the Straits of Cilicia. Darius advances at the ſame time. The bold and free anſwer of Caridemus to that prince, which coſts him his life. Deſcription of Darius's march.*

A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333. THE ſucceſs of the battle of the Granicus had all the happy conſequences that could naturally be expected from it. Sardis, which was in a manner the bulwark of the Barbarian empire on the ſide next the ſea, ſurrendered to Alexander, who thereupon gave the citizens their liberty, and permitted them to live after their own laws. Four days after he arrived at Epheſus, carrying with him thoſe who had been baniſhed from thence for being his adherents, and reſtored its popular form of government. He aſſigned to the temple of Diana the tributes which were paid to the kings of Perſia. He offered a great number of ſacrifices to that goddeſs; ſolemniſed her myſteries with the utmoſt pomp, and conducted the ceremony with his whole army drawn up in battle-array. The Epheſians had begun to rebuild the temple of Diana, which had been burned the night of Alexander's birth, as was before obſerved, and the work was now very forward. Dinocrates, a famous architect, who ſuperintended this edifice, was employed by this king to build Alexandria in Egypt. Alexander offered to pay the Epheſians all the expences they had already been at, and to furniſh the remainder, provided they would inſcribe the temple only with his name; for he was fond, or rather inſatiable, of every kind of glory. The inhabitants of Epheſus not being willing to conſent to it, and however afraid to refuſe him that honour openly, had recourſe to an artful flattery for an evaſion. They told him, that it was inconſiſtent for one god to erect monuments to another. Before he left Epheſus, the deputies of the cities of Trallis and Magneſia waited upon him with the keys of thoſe places.

He afterwards marched to Miletus, which city, flattered with the hopes of a ſudden and powerful ſupport, ſhut their

Diod. l. xvii. p. 503—511. Arrian. l. i. p. 36—59. & l. ii. p. 60—66. Plut. in Alex. p. 673, 674. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 1—3. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 7, 8. Strab. l. xiv. p. 640. Solin. c. xl.

gates againſt him: and indeed the Perſian fleet, which was very conſiderable, made a ſhow as if it would ſuccour that city; but after having made ſeveral fruitleſs attempts to engage that of the enemy, it was forced to ſail away. Memnon had ſhut himſelf up in this fortreſs, with a great number of his ſoldiers, who had eſcaped from the battle, and was determined to make a good defence. Alexander, who would not loſe a moment's time, attacked it, and planted ſcaling-ladders on all ſides. The ſcalado was carried on with great vigour, and oppoſed with no leſs intrepidity, though Alexander ſent freſh troops to relieve one another without the leaſt intermiſſion; and this laſted ſeveral days. At laſt, finding his ſoldiers were every where repulſed, and that the city was provided with every thing for a long ſiege, he planted all his machines againſt it, made a great number of breaches, and whenever theſe were attacked, a new ſcalado was attempted. The beſieged, after ſuſtaining all theſe efforts with prodigious bravery, capitulated, for fear of being taken by ſtorm. Alexander treated all the Mileſians with the utmoſt humanity, and ſold all the foreigners who were found in it. The hiſtorians do not make any mention of Memnon, but we may reaſonably ſuppoſe that he marched out with the garriſon.

Alexander, ſeeing that the enemy's fleet was ſailed away, reſolved to lay up his own, the expence of it being too great, not to mention that he wanted money for things of greater importance. Some hiſtorians are even of opinion, that as he was upon the point of coming to a battle with Darius, which was to determine the fate of the two empires, he was reſolved to deprive his ſoldiers of all hopes of retreat, and to leave them no other reſource than that of victory. He, therefore, retained ſuch veſſels only of his fleet, as were abſolutely neceſſary for tranſporting the military engines, and a ſmall number of other gallies. A. M. 3671. Ant. J. C. 333.

After poſſeſſing himſelf of Miletus, he marched into Caria, in order to lay ſiege to Halicarnaſſus. The city was of prodigious difficult acceſs from its happy ſituation, and had been ſtrongly fortified. Beſides, Memnon, the ableſt as well as the moſt valiant of all Darius's commanders, had got into it with a body of choice ſoldiers, with deſign to ſignalize his courage and fidelity for his ſovereign. He accordingly made a very noble defence, in which he was ſeconded by Ephialtes, another

general of great merit. Whatever could be expected from the moſt intrepid bravery, and the moſt conſummate knowledge in the ſcience of war, was conſpicuous on both ſides on this occaſion. After the beſiegers had, with incredible labour, filled up part of the ditches, and brought their engines near the walls, they had the grief to ſee their works demoliſhed in an inſtant, and their engines ſet on fire, by the frequent vigorous ſallies of the beſieged. After beating down part of a wall with their battering-rams, they were aſtoniſhed to ſee a new one behind it; which was ſo ſudden, that it ſeemed to riſe out of the ground. The attack of theſe walls, which were built in a ſemi-circular form, deſtroyed a prodigious number of men; becauſe the beſieged, from the top of the towers that were raiſed on the ſeveral ſides, took the enemy in flank. It was evidently ſeen at this ſiege, that the ſtrongeſt fortifications of a city are the valour and courage of its defenders. The ſiege was held out ſo long, and attended with ſuch ſurpriſing difficulties, as would have diſcouraged any warrior but an Alexander; yet his troops were animated by the view of dangers, and their patience was at laſt ſucceſsful. Memnon, finding it impoſſible for him to hold out any longer, was forced to abandon the city. As the ſea was open to him, after having put a ſtrong garriſon into the citadel, which was well ſtored with proviſion, he took with him the ſurviving inhabitants, with all their riches, and conveyed them into the iſland of Cos, which was not far from Halicarnaſſus. Alexander did not think proper to beſiege the citadel, it being of little importance after the city was deſtroyed, which he demoliſhed to the very foundations. He left it, after having encompaſſed it with ſtrong walls, and left ſome good troops in the country.

After the death of Artemiſia, queen of Caria, Idrieus her brother reigned in her ſtead. The ſceptre devolved upon Ada, ſiſter and wife of Idrieus, according to the cuſtom of the country; but ſhe was dethroned by Pexodorus, to whom ſucceeded, by Darius's command, Orontobates, his ſon-in-law. Ada, however, was ſtill poſſeſſed of a fortreſs called Alinda, the keys of which ſhe had carried to Alexander, the inſtant ſhe heard of his arrival in Caria, and had adopted him for her ſon. The king was ſo far from contemning this honour, that he left her the quiet poſſeſſion of her own city; and, after having

taken Halicarnaſſus, as he by that means was maſter of the whole country, he reſtored the government of it to Ada.

[y] This lady, as a teſtimony of the deep ſenſe ſhe had of the favours received from Alexander, ſent him every day meats dreſſed in the moſt exquiſite manner; delicious pies of all ſorts, and the moſt excellent cooks of every kind. Alexander anſwered the queen on this occaſion, "That all this train was "of no ſervice to him, for that he was poſſeſſed of much better "cooks, whom * Leonidas his governor had given him; one "of whom prepared him a good dinner, and that was by "walking a great deal in the morning very early; and the "other prepared him an excellent ſupper, and that was dining "very moderately."

Several kings of Aſia Minor ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander. Mithridates king of Pontus was one of theſe, who afterwards adhered to this prince, and followed him in his expeditions. He was ſon to Ariobarzanes, governor of Phrygia, and king of Pontus, of whom mention has been made elſewhere. [z] He is computed to be the ſixteenth king from Artabazus, who is conſidered as the founder of that kingdom, of which he was put in poſſeſſion by Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes his father. The famous Mithridates, who ſo long employed the Roman armies, was one of his ſucceſſors.

Alexander, before he went into winter-quarters, permitted all ſuch of his ſoldiers, as had married that year, to return into Macedonia, there to ſpend the winter with their wives, upon condition that they would return in the ſpring. He appointed three officers to march them thither and back again. This agrees exactly with the law of [a] Moſes; and, as we do not find that this law or cuſtom was uſed by any other nation, it is very probable that Ariſtotle had learned it from ſome Jew, with whom he became acquainted in Aſia; and that approving it as a very wiſe and juſt cuſtom, he therefore had recommended it to his pupil, who remembered it on this occaſion.

The next year Alexander began the campaign very early. He had debated, whether it would be proper for him to march directly againſt Darius, or ſhould firſt ſubdue the reſt of the

[y] Plut. in Alex. p. 677.

[z] Florus, l. iii. c. 5. [a] Deut. xxiv. 5.

* Βελτιονας γας οψοποιους εχειν υπο τω παιδαγωγω Λεωνιδω δεδομενους αυτω· προς μεν το αριστον νυκτοπορειαν, προς δε το δειπνον ολιγαρχιαν.

maritime provinces. The latter opinion appeared the ſafeſt, ſince he thereby would not be moleſted by ſuch nations as he ſhould leave behind him. [b] This progreſs was a little interrupted at firſt. Near Phaſelis, a city ſituated between Lycia and Pamphylia, is a defile along the ſea-ſhore, which is always dry at low water, ſo that travellers may paſs it at that time; but when the ſea riſes, it is all under water. As it was now winter, Alexander, whom nothing could daunt, was deſirous of paſſing it before the waters fell. His forces were, therefore, obliged to march a whole day in the water, which came up to their waiſt. Some hiſtorians, purely to embelliſh this incident, relate that the ſea, by the divine command, had ſubmitted ſpontaneouſly to Alexander, and had opened a way to him, contrary to the uſual courſe of nature; among theſe writers is Quintus Curtius. It is ſurpriſing that Joſephus the hiſtorian, to weaken the authority of the miracle of the Jews paſſing through the Red Sea on dry land, ſhould have cited this circumſtance by way of example, the falſity of which Alexander himſelf had refuted. For Plutarch relates, that he had wrote only as follows in one of his letters, "That when he left the city of Phaſelis, he marched on foot through the paſs of the mountain called Climax:" and it is very well known that this prince, who was vaſtly fond of the marvellous, never let ſlip any opportunity of perſuading the people, that the gods protected him in a very ſingular manner.

During his being in the neighbourhood of Phaſelis, he diſcovered a conſpiracy which was carrying on by Alexander, ſon of Eropus, whom he had a little before appointed general of the Theſſalian cavalry, in the room of Calas, whom he had made governor of a province. Darius, upon the receipt of a letter which this traitor had ſent him, promiſed him a reward of a thouſand * talents of gold, with the kingdom of Macedonia, in caſe he could murder Alexander; believing this was not paying too dear for a crime, which would rid him of ſo formidable an enemy. The meſſenger who carried the king's anſwer being ſeiſed, made a full confeſſion, by which means the traitor was brought to condign puniſhment.

Alexander, after having ſettled affairs in Cilicia and Pam-

[b] Strab. l. xiv. p. 666.

* About one million five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling.

phylia, marched his army to Celænæ, a city of Phrygia, watered by the river Marſyas, which the fictions of poets have made ſo famous. He ſummoned the garriſon of the citadel, whither the inhabitants were retired, to ſurrender; but theſe believing it impregnable, anſwered haughtily, that they would firſt die. However, finding the attack carried on with great vigour, they deſired a truce of ſixty days, at the expiration of which they promiſed to open their gates, in caſe they were not ſuccoured: and accordingly, no aid arriving, they ſurrendered themſelves upon the day fixed.

From thence the King marched into Phrygia, the capital of which was called Gordion, the ancient and famous reſidence of King Midas, ſituated on the river Sangarius. Having taken the city, he was deſirous of ſeeing the famous chariot to which the Gordian knot was tied. This knot, which faſtened the yoke to the beam, was tied with ſo much art, and the ſtrings were twiſted in ſo wonderful a manner, that it was impoſſible to diſcover where it begun or ended. According to an ancient tradition of the country, an oracle had foretold, that the man who could untie it, ſhould poſſeſs the empire of Aſia. Now Alexander was firmly perſuaded that this promiſe related to himſelf; after many fruitleſs trials, he cried, [c] "It is no matter which way it be untied," and thereupon cut it with his ſword, and by that means, ſays the hiſtorian, either eluded or fulfilled the oracle.

In the mean time Darius was ſetting every engine at work, in order to make a vigorous defence. Memnon the Rhodian adviſed him to carry the war into Macedonia, which counſel ſeemed the moſt proper to extricate him from the preſent danger; for the Lacedæmonians, and ſeveral other Greek nations, who had no affection for the Macedonians, would have been ready to join him; by which means Alexander muſt have been forced to leave Aſia, and return ſuddenly over-ſea, to defend his own country. Darius approved this counſel, and, having determined to follow it, charged Memnon to put it in execution. Accordingly he was declared admiral of the fleet, and captain-general of all the forces deſigned for that expedition.

[c] *Sortem oraculi vel eluſit, vel implevit.* QUINT. CURT.

That prince could not poſſibly have made a better choice. Memnon was the ableſt general in his ſervice, had fought a great many years under the Perſian ſtandards with the utmoſt fidelity. Had his advice been taken, the battle of the Granicus had not been fought. He did not abandon his maſter's intereſts after that misfortune, but had aſſembled the ſcattered remains of the army, and immediateiy went firſt to Miletus, from thence to Halicarnaſſus, and laſtly into the iſland of Cos, where he was when he received his new commiſſion. This place was the rendezvous for the fleet; and Memnon was now meditating wholly upon the manner how to put his deſign in execution. He made himſelf maſter of the iſland of Chios, and all Leſbos, the city of Mitylene excepted. From thence he was preparing to paſs over into Eubœa, and to make Greece and Macedonia the ſeat of the war, but died before Mitylene, which city he had been forced to beſiege. His death was the greateſt misfortune that could poſſibly have happened to Perſia. We ſee on this occaſion the ineſtimable worth of a man of merit, whoſe death is ſometimes the ruin of a ſtate. The loſs of Memnon fruſtrated the execution of the plan he had formed; for Darius not having one general in his army who was able to ſupply Memnon's place, abandoned entirely the only enterpriſe which could have ſaved his empire. His whole refuge, therefore, now lay in the armies of the Eaſt. Darius, diſſatisfied with all his generals, reſolved to command in perſon, and appointed Babylon for the rendezvous of his army; whereupon being muſtered, they were found to be about four, five, or ſix hundred thouſand men, for hiſtorians differ very much on this head.

Alexander having left Gordion, marched into Paphlagonia and Cappadocia, which he ſubdued. It was there he heard of Memnon's death, the news whereof confirmed him in the reſolution he had taken of marching immediately into the provinces of Upper Aſia. Accordingly he advanced by haſty marches into Cilicia, and arrived in the country called * Cyrus's camp. From thence there is no more than fifty ſtadia (two leagues and a half each) to the paſs of Cilicia, which is a very narrow ſtrait, through which travellers are

* Quintus Curtius ſuppoſes it to be ſo called from Cyrus the Great, and Arrian from the Younger Cyrus, which opinion appears the moſt probable.

obliged to go from Cappadocia to Tarſus. The officer who guarded it in Darius's name, had left but few ſoldiers in it, and thoſe fled the inſtant they heard of the enemy's arrival. Upon this, Alexander entered the paſs, and, after viewing very attentively the ſituation of the place, he admired his own good fortune; and confeſſed, that he might have been very eaſily ſtopped and defeated there, merely by the throwing of ſtones: for, not to mention that this paſs was ſo narrow, that four men completely armed could ſcarcely walk a-breaſt in it; the top of the mountain hung over the road, which was not only ſtraight, but broke in ſeveral places, by the fall of torrents from the mountains.

Alexander marched his whole army to the city of Tarſus, where it arrived the inſtant the Perſians were ſetting fire to that place, to prevent his plundering the great riches of ſo flouriſhing a city. But Parmenio, whom the King had ſent thither with a detachment of horſe, arrived very ſeaſonably to ſtop the progreſs of the fire, and marched into the city, which he ſaved; the Barbarians having fled the moment they heard of his arrival.

Through this city the Cydnus runs, a river not ſo remarkable for the breadth of its channel, as for the beauty of its waters, which are vaſtly limpid; but at the ſame time exceſſively cold, becauſe of the tufted trees with which its banks are over-ſhadowed. It was now about the end of ſummer, which is exceſſively hot in Cilicia, and in the hotteſt part of the day, when the King, who was quite covered with ſweat and dirt, arriving on its banks, had a mind to bathe in that river, invited by the beauty and clearneſs of the ſtream. However, the inſtant he plunged into it, he was ſeiſed with ſo violent a ſhivering, that all the ſtanders-by fancied he was dying. Upon this, he was carried to his tent, after fainting away. The news of this ſad diſaſter threw the whole army into the utmoſt conſternation. They all burſt into tears, and breathed their plaints in the following words: "The greateſt "prince that ever lived is torne from us in the midſt of his "proſperities and conqueſts; not in a battle, or at the ſtorm-"ing of a city; but dies by his bathing in a river. Darius, "who is coming up with us, will conquer before he has ſeen "his enemy. We ſhall be forced to retire, like ſo many fugi-

" tives, through thoſe very countries which we entered with " triumph; and as the places through which we muſt paſs are " either deſart or depopulated, hunger only, ſhould we meet " no other enemy, will itſelf deſtroy us. But who ſhall guide " us in our flight, or dare to ſet himſelf up in Alexander's " ſtead? And ſhould we be ſo happy as to arrive at the Hel- " leſpont, how ſhall we furniſh ourſelves with veſſels to croſs " it?" After this, directing their whole thoughts to the prince, and forgetting themſelves, they cried aloud: " Alas! " how ſad is it that he, who was our king, and the companion " of our toils; a king in the flower of his youth, and in the " courſe of his greateſt proſperities, ſhould be taken off, and " in a manner torne from our arms!"

At laſt the King recovered his ſenſes by degrees, and began to know the perſons who ſtood round him; though the only ſymptom he gave of his recovery was, his being ſenſible of his illneſs. But he was more indiſpoſed in mind than in body, for news was brought that Darius might ſoon arrive. Alexander bewailed perpetually his hard fate, in being thus expoſed naked and defenceleſs to his enemy, and robbed of ſo noble a victory, ſince he was now reduced to the melancholy condition of dying obſcurely in his tent, and far from having attained the glory he had promiſed himſelf. Having ordered his confidents and phyſicians to come into his tent, " You " ſee (ſaid he) my friends, the ſad extremity to which fortune " reduces me. Methinks I already hear the ſound of the " enemy's arms, and ſee Darius advancing. He undoubt- " edly held intelligence with my evil * genius, when he wrote " letters to his lieutenants in ſo lofty and contemptuous a " ſtrain; however, he ſhall not obtain his deſire, provided " ſuch a cure as I want is attempted. The preſent condition " of my affairs will not admit either of ſlow remedies or fearful " phyſicians. A ſpeedy death is more eligible to me than a " ſlow cure. In caſe the phyſicians think it is in their power " to do me any good, they are to know, that I do not ſo much " wiſh to live as to fight."

This ſudden impatience of the king ſpread an univerſal

* Darius, who imagined himſelf ſure of overcoming Alexander, had writ to his lieutenants, that they ſhould chaſtiſe this young fool; and after clothing him in purple out of deriſion, ſhould ſend him bound hand and foot to the court. FREINSHEIM IN QUINT. CURT.

alarm. The phyſicians, who were ſenſible they ſhould be anſwerable for the event, did not dare to hazard violent and extraordinary remedies; eſpecially as Darius had publiſhed, that he would reward with a thouſand * talents the man who ſhould kill Alexander. However Philip, an Acarnanian, one of his phyſicians, who had always attended upon him from his youth, loved him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not only as his ſovereign, but his child; raiſing himſelf (merely out of affection to Alexander) above all prudential conſiderations, offered to give him a doſe; which, though not very violent, would nevertheleſs be ſpeedy in its effects; and deſired three days to prepare it. At this propoſal every one trembled, but him only whom it moſt concerned; Alexander being afflicted upon no other account, than becauſe it would keep him three days from appearing at the head of his army.

While theſe things were doing, Alexander received a letter from Parmenio, who was left behind in Cappadocia, in whom Alexander put greater confidence than in any other of his courtiers; the purport of which was, to bid him beware of Philip, for that Darius had bribed him, by the promiſe of a thouſand talents, and his ſiſter in marriage. This † letter gave him great uneaſineſs, for he was now at full leiſure to weigh all the reaſons he might have to hope or to fear. But the confidence in a phyſician, whoſe ſincere attachment and fidelity he had proved from his infancy, ſoon prevailed, and removed all his doubts. Upon this, he folded up the letter, and put it under his bolſter, without acquainting any one with the contents of it.

The day being come, Philip enters the tent with his medicine, when Alexander taking the letter from under the bolſter, gives it Philip to read. At the ſame time he takes the cup, and fixing his eyes on the phyſician, ſwallows the draught without the leaſt heſitation, or without diſcovering the leaſt ſuſpicion or uneaſineſs. Philip, as he peruſed the letter, had ſhewed greater ſigns of indignation than of fear or ſurpriſe; and throwing himſelf upon the king's bed—"Royal Sir," ſays he, with a reſolute tone of voice, "your recovery will ſoon

* About 145,000l. ſterling.

† *Ingentem animo ſolicitudinem literæ incuſſerant; & quicquid in utramque partem aut metus aut ſpes ſubjecerat, ſecreta æſtimatione penſabat.* Q. Curt.

clear me of the guilt of parricide with which I am charged. The only favour I beg is, that you would be eaſy in your own mind; and ſuffer the draught to operate, and not regard the intelligence you have received from ſervants, who indeed have ſhewn their zeal for your welfare; which zeal, however, is very indiſcreet and unſeaſonable." Theſe words did not only revive the king, but filled him with hope and joy; ſo taking Philip by the hand, "Be you yourſelf eaſy," ſays he to him, "for I believe you are diſquieted upon a double account; firſt "for my recovery, and ſecondly for your own juſtification."

In the mean time, the phyſic worked ſo violently, that the accidents which attended it, ſtrengthened Parmenio's accuſation; for the king loſt his ſpeech, and was ſeiſed with ſuch ſtrong fainting fits, that he had hardly any pulſe left, or the leaſt ſymptoms of life. Philip employed all the powers of phyſic to recover him, and in every lucid interval, diverted him with agreeable ſubjects; diſcourſing one moment about his mother and ſiſters, and another, about the mighty victory which was advancing, with haſty ſteps, to crown his paſt triumphs. At laſt the phyſician's art having gained the aſcendant, and diffuſed through every vein a ſalutary and vivific virtue; his mind firſt began to reſume its former vigour, and afterwards his body, much ſooner than had been expected. Three days after he ſhowed himſelf to the army, who were never ſatisfied with gazing upon him, and could ſcarce believe their eyes; ſo much the greatneſs of the danger had ſurpriſed and dejected them. No careſſes were enough for the phyſician; every one embracing him with the utmoſt tenderneſs, and returning him thanks as to a god who had ſaved the life of their ſovereign.

Beſides the reſpect which theſe people had naturally for their kings, words can never expreſs how greatly they admired this monarch more than any other, and the ſtrong affection they bore him. They were perſuaded, that he did not undertake any thing but by the immediate aſſiſtance of the gods; and as ſucceſs always attended his deſigns, his raſhneſs became glorious in him, and ſeemed to have ſomething inexpreſſibly divine in it. His youth, which one would have concluded incapable of ſuch mighty enterpriſes, and which however over-came all difficulties, gave a freſh merit and a

brighter luſtre to his actions. * Beſides, certain advantages that generally are little regarded, and which yet engage in a wonderful manner the hearts of the ſoldiery, greatly augmented the merit of Alexander; ſuch as his taking delight in bodily exerciſes; his diſcovering a ſkill and excellency in them; his going clothed like the common ſoldiers, and knowing how to familiarize himſelf with inferiors, without leſſening his dignity; his ſharing in toils and dangers with the moſt laborious and intrepid; qualities which, whether Alexander owed them to nature, or had acquired them by reflection, made him equally beloved and reſpected by his ſoldiers.

During this interval, Darius was on his march, full of a vain ſecurity in the infinite number of his troops, and forming a judgment of the two armies merely from their diſparity in that point. The plains of Aſſyria, in which he was encamped, gave him an opportunity of extending his horſe as he pleaſed, and of taking the advantage which the great difference between the number of ſoldiers in each army gave him; but inſtead of this, he reſolves to march to narrow paſſes, where his cavalry and the multitude of his troops, ſo far from doing him any ſervice, would only incumber one another; and accordingly he advances towards the enemy, for whom he ſhould have waited, and runs viſibly to his own deſtruction. Nevertheleſs, the grandees of his court, whoſe cuſtom it was to flatter and applaud his every action, congratulated him beforehand on the victory he would ſoon obtain, as if it had been certain and inevitable. There was at that time, in the army of Darius, one Caridemus, an Athenian, a man of great experience in war, who perſonally hated Alexander, for having cauſed him to be baniſhed from Athens. Darius, turning to this Athenian, aſked, whether he believed him powerful enough to defeat his enemy. Caridemus, who had been brought up in the boſom of liberty, and forgetting that he was in a country of ſlavery, where to oppoſe the inclination of a prince is of the moſt dangerous conſequence, replied as follows: "Poſſibly, Sir, you may not be pleaſed with my tell-
" ing you the truth; but in caſe I do not do it now, it will
" be too late hereafter. This mighty parade of war, this pro-

* *Quæ leviora haberi ſolent, plerumque in re militari gratiora vulgo ſunt.* Q. Curt.

" digious number of men which has drained all the Eaſt, " might indeed be formidable to your neighbours. Gold and " purple ſhine in every part of your army, which is ſo prodi- " giouſly ſplendid, that thoſe who have not ſeen it, could " never form an idea of its magnificence. But the ſoldiers " who compoſe the Macedonian army, terrible to behold, " and briſtling in every part with arms, do not amuſe them- " ſelves with ſuch idle ſhow. Their only care is to diſci- " pline, in a regular manner, their battalions, and to cover " themſelves cloſe with their bucklers and pikes. Their " phalanx is a body of infantry, which engages without flinch- " ing; and keeps ſo cloſe in their ranks, that the ſoldiers and " their arms form a kind of impenetrable work. In a word, " every ſingle man among them, the officers as well as ſol- " diers, are ſo well trained up, ſo attentive to the command " of their leaders, that, whether they are to aſſemble under " their ſtandards, to turn to the right or left, to double their " ranks, and face about to the enemy on all ſides, at the leaſt " ſignal they make every motion and evolution of the art of " war. But that you may be perſuaded, theſe Macedonians " are not invited hither,* from the hopes of gaining gold and " ſilver; know, that this excellent diſcipline has ſubſiſted " hitherto by the ſole aid and precepts of poverty. Are they " hungry? they ſatisfy their appetite with any kind of food. " Are they weary? they repoſe themſelves on the bare ground, " and in the day-time are always upon their feet. Do you " fancy that the Theſſalian cavalry, and that of Acarnania " and Ætolia, who all are armed cap-a-pee, are to be re- " pulſed by ſtones hurled from ſlings, and with ſticks burnt " at the end? Such troops as are like themſelves, will be able " to check their career; and ſuccours muſt be procured from " their country, to oppoſe their bravery and experience. " Send therefore thither all the uſeleſs gold and ſilver which " I ſee here, and purchaſe formidable ſoldiers." † Darius was naturally of a mild, tractable diſpoſition; but good fortune will corrupt the moſt happy diſpoſition. Few monarchs are reſolute and courageous enough to withſtand their own

* *Et, ne auri argentique ſtudio teneri putes, adhuc illa diſciplina pauperate magiſtra ſtetit.* Q. CURT.

† *Erat Dario mite ac tractabile ingenium, niſi etiam ſuam naturam plerumque fortuna corrumperet.* Q. CURT. I ſuſpect the particle *ſuam.*

power, to repulſe the flattery of the many people who are perpetually fomenting their paſſions, and to eſteem a man who loves them ſo well, to contradict and diſpleaſe them, in telling them the genuine truth. But Darius, not having ſtrength of mind ſufficient for this, gives orders for dragging to execution a man who had fled to him for protection, was at that time his gueſt, and gave him at that time the beſt counſel that could have been propoſed to him. However, as this cruel treatment could not ſilence Caridemus, he cried aloud, with his uſual freedom; "My avenger is at hand, the very man "in oppoſition to whom I gave you counſel, and he will ſoon "puniſh you for deſpiſing it. * As for you, Darius, in whom "ſovereign power has wrought ſo ſudden a change, you will "teach poſterity, that when once men abandon themſelves to "the deluſion of fortune, ſhe eraſes from their minds all the "ſeeds of goodneſs implanted in them by nature." Darius ſoon repented his having put to death ſo valuable a perſon; and experienced, but too late, the truth of all he had told him.

The king advanced with his troops towards the Euphrates. It was a cuſtom long uſed by the Perſians, never to ſet out upon a march till after ſun-riſe, at which time the trumpet was ſounded for that purpoſe from the king's tent. Over this tent was exhibited to the view of the whole army, the image of the ſun ſet in cryſtal. The order they obſerved in their march was this.

Firſt, they carried ſilver altars, on which there lay fire, called by them ſacred and eternal; and theſe were followed by the Magi, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country. They were accompanied by three hundred and ſixty-five youths (agreeable to the number of days in a year) clothed in purple robes. Afterwards came a chariot conſecrated to † Jupiter, drawn by white horſes, and followed by a courſer of a prodigious ſize, to whom they gave the name of the ſun's horſe; and the equerries were dreſſed in white, each having a golden rod in his hand.

Ten chariots, adorned with ſculptures in gold and ſilver,

* *Tu quidem, licentia regni ſubitò mutatus documentum eris poſteris, homines, cum ſe permiſere fortunæ, etiam naturam dediſcere.* Q. CURT.

† Jupiter was a god unknown to the Perſians. Quintus Curtius therefore, in all probability, calls the firſt and greateſt of their gods by that name.

followed after. Then marched a body of horſe, compoſed of twelve nations, whoſe manners and cuſtoms were various, and all armed in a different manner. Next advanced thoſe whom the Perſians called *The Immortals*, amounting to ten thouſand, who ſurpaſſed the reſt of the Barbarians in the ſumptuouſneſs of their apparel. They all wore golden collars, were clothed in robes of gold tiſſue, with ſurtouts (having ſleeves to them) quite covered with precious ſtones.

Thirty paces from them, followed thoſe called the king's couſins or * relations, to the number of fifteen thouſand, in habits very much reſembling thoſe of women, and more remarkable for the vain pomp of their dreſs than the glitter of their arms.

Thoſe called the † Doryphori came after; they carried the king's cloak, and walked before his chariot, in which he ſeemed to ſit as on a high throne. This chariot was enriched on both ſides with images of the gods in gold and ſilver; and from the middle of the yoke, which was covered with jewels, roſe two ſtatues a cubit in height, the one repreſenting war, the other peace, having a golden eagle between them, with wings extended, as ready to take its flight.

But nothing could equal the magnificence of the king. He was clothed in a veſt of purple, ſtriped with ſilver, and over it a long robe glittering all over with gold and precious ſtones, that repreſented two falcons ruſhing from the clouds, and pecking at one another. Around his waiſt he wore a ‡ golden girdle, after the manner of women, whence his ſcimetar hung, the ſcabbard of which flamed all over with gems. On his head he wore a tiara or mitre, round which was a fillet of blue mixed with white.

On each ſide of him walked two hundred of his neareſt relations, followed by ten thouſand pikemen, whoſe pikes were adorned with ſilver, and tipped with gold; and laſtly, thirty thouſand infantry, who compoſed the rear-guard. Theſe were followed by the king's horſes (four hundred in number) all which were led.

About one hundred, or an hundred and twenty paces from thence, came Syſigambis, Darius's mother, ſeated on a chariot,

* This was a title of dignity. Poſſibly a great number of the king's relations were in this body.

† Theſe were guards who carried a half pike. ‡ Cidaris.

and his conſort on another, with the ſeveral female attendants of both queens riding on horſeback. Afterwards came fifteen large chariots, in which were the king's children, and thoſe who had the care of their education, with a band of eunuchs, who are to this day in great eſteem with thoſe nations. Then marched the concubines, to the number of three hundred and ſixty, in the equipage of queens, followed by ſix hundred mules and three hundred camels, which carried the king's treaſure, and were guarded by a great body of archers.

After theſe came the wives of the crown-officers, and of the greateſt lords of the court; then the ſutlers, and ſervants of the army, ſeated alſo in chariots.

In the rear were a body of light-armed troops, with their commanders, who cloſed the whole march.

Would not the reader believe, that he had been reading the deſcription of a tournament, not the march of an army? Could he imagine that princes of the leaſt reaſon would have been ſo ſtupid, as to incorporate with their forces ſo cumberſome a train of women, princeſſes, concubines, eunuchs, and domeſticks of both ſexes? But the cuſtom of the country was reaſon ſufficient. Darius, at the head of ſix hundred thouſand men, and ſurrounded with this mighty pomp prepared for himſelf only, fancied he was great, and roſe in the idea he had formed of himſelf. Yet ſhould we reduce him to his juſt proportion and his perſonal worth, how little would he appear! But he is not the only one in this way of thinking, and of whom we may form the ſame judgment. But it is time for us to bring the two monarchs to blows.

SECT. V. *Alexander gains a famous victory over Darius, near the city of Iſſus. The conſequences of that victory.*

FOR the clearer underſtanding of Alexander's march, and that of Darius, and the better fixing the ſituation of the ſpot where the ſecond battle was fought, we muſt diſtinguiſh three ſtraits or paſſes. [c] The firſt of theſe is immediately at the deſcent from mount Taurus, in the way to the A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

[c] Diod. l. xvii. p. 512—518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 66—82. Plut. in Alex. p. 675, 676. Q. Curt. l. iii. c. 4—12. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 9, & 10.

city of Tarſus, through which, as has been already ſeen, Alexander marched from Cappadocia into Cilicia. The ſecond is the paſs of Cilicia or Syria, leading from Cilicia into Syria; and the third is the paſs of Amanus, ſo called from that mountain. This paſs, which leads into Cilicia from Aſſyria, is much higher than the paſs of Syria, northward.

Alexander had detached Parmenio with part of the army to ſeiſe the paſs of Syria, in order to ſecure it for his march. As for himſelf, after marching from Tarſus, he arrived the next day at Anchiala, a city which Sardanapalus is ſaid to have built. His tomb was ſtill to be ſeen in that city with this inſcription, *Sardanapalus built Anchiala and Tarſus in one day:* GO, PASSENGER, EAT, DRINK, AND REJOICE, FOR THE REST IS NOTHING. From hence he came to Solæ where he offered ſacrifices to Æſculapius, in gratitude for the recovery of his health. Alexander himſelf headed the ceremony with lighted tapers, followed by the whole army, and he there ſolemnized games; after which he returned to Tarſus. Having commanded Philotas to march the cavalry through the plains of Aleius, towards the river Pyramus, he himſelf went with the infantry and his life-guard to Magarſus, whence he arrived at Malles, and afterwards at Caſtabala. Advice had been brought him, that Darius, with his whole army, was encamped at Sochus in Aſſyria, two days' journey from Cilicia. There Alexander held a council of war upon that news; when all his generals and officers entreating him to march towards Darius, he ſet out the next day to give him battle. Parmenio had taken the little city of Iſſus, and, after poſſeſſing himſelf of the paſs of Syria, had left a body of forces to ſecure it. The king left the ſick in Iſſus, marched his whole army through the paſs, and encamped near the city of Myriandrus, where the badneſs of the weather obliged him to halt.

In the mean time, Darius was in the plains of Aſſyria, of great extent. The Grecian commanders who were in his ſervice, and formed the chief ſtrength of his army, adviſed him to wait there the coming-up of the enemy. For, beſides that this ſpot was open on all ſides, and very advantageous for his horſe, it was ſpacious enough to contain his vaſtly-numerous hoſt, with all the baggage and other things belonging

to the army. However, if he ſhould not approve of their counſel, they then adviſed him to ſeparate this multitude, and ſelect ſuch only as were the flower of his troops; and conſequently not venture his whole army upon a ſingle battle, which perhaps might be deciſive. However, the courtiers, with whom the courts of monarchs, as Arrian obſerves, for ever abound, called theſe Greeks an unfaithful nation, and venal wretches; and hinted to Darius, that the only motive of their counſelling the king to divide his troops was, that, after they ſhould once be ſeparated from the reſt, they might have an eaſier opportunity of delivering up into the enemies' hands whatever might be in their power; but that the ſafeſt way would be, to ſurround them with the whole army, and cut them to pieces, as an illuſtrious example of the puniſhment due to traitors. This propoſal was vaſtly ſhocking to Darius, who was naturally of a very mild and humane diſpoſition. He therefore anſwered, "That he was far from ever de-"ſigning to commit ſo horrible a crime; that ſhould he be "guilty of it, no nation would afterwards give the leaſt "credit to his promiſes; that it * was never known that a "perſon had been put to death for giving imprudent counſel: "that no man would ever venture to give his opinion, if it "were attended with ſuch danger, a circumſtance that would "be of the moſt fatal conſequence to princes." He then thanked the Greeks for their zeal and good-will, and condeſcended to lay before them the reaſons which prompted him not to follow their advice.

The courtiers had perſuaded Darius, that Alexander's long delay in coming up with them, was a proof and an effect of the terror with which the approach of the Perſian army had filled him (for they had not heard a word of his indiſpoſition); that fortune, merely for their ſake, had led Alexander into ſtraits and narrow paſſes, whence it would be impoſſible for him to get out, in caſe they ſhould fall upon him immediately; that they ought to ſeiſe this favourable opportunity, for fear the enemy ſhould fly, by which means Alexander would eſcape them. Upon this, it was reſolved in council, that the army ſhould march in ſearch of him; the gods, ſays

* *Neminem ſtolidum conſilium capite luere debere; defuturos enim qui ſuaderent, ſi ſuaſiſſe periculum eſſet.* Q. CURT.

an [d] hiſtorian blinding the eyes of that prince, that he might ruſh down the precipice they had prepared for him, and thereby make way for the deſtruction of the Perſian monarchy.

Darius, having ſent his treaſure with his moſt precious moveables to Damaſcus, a city of Syria, under a ſmall convoy, marched the main body of the army towards Cilicia, and entered it by the paſs of Amanus, which lies far above the paſſes of Syria. His queen and mother, with the princeſſes his daughters, and the little prince his ſon, followed the army according to the cuſtom of the Perſians, but were in the camp during the battle. When he had advanced a little way into Cilicia (from eaſt weſtward) he turned ſhort towards Iſſus, not knowing that Alexander was behind; for he had been aſſured that this prince fled before him, and was retired in great diſorder into Syria; and therefore Darius was now conſidering how he might beſt purſue him. He barbarouſly put to death all the ſick who were then in the city of Iſſus, a few ſoldiers excepted, whom he diſmiſſed, after making them view every part of his camp, in order that they might be ſpectators of the prodigious multitude of his forces. Theſe ſoldiers accordingly brought Alexander word of Darius's approach, which he could ſcarce believe, from its great improbability, though there was nothing he deſired more earneſtly. But he himſelf was ſoon an eye-witneſs to the truth of it, upon which he began to think ſeriouſly of preparing for battle.

Alexander fearing, as the Barbarians were ſo numerous, that they would attack him in his camp, fortified it with ditches and paliſadoes, diſcovering an incredible joy to ſee his deſire fulfilled, which was, to engage in thoſe paſſes, whither the gods ſeemed to have led Darius expreſsly to deliver him into his hands.

And, indeed, this ſpot of ground, which was but wide enough for a ſmall army to act and move at liberty in, reduced, in ſome meaſure, the two armies to an equality. By this means the Macedonians had ſpace ſufficient to employ their whole army; whereas the Perſians had not room for the twentieth part of theirs.

Nevertheleſs Alexander, as frequently happens to the greateſt captains, felt ſome emotion when he ſaw that he was

[d] Arrian.

going to hazard all at one blow. The more fortune had favoured him hitherto, the more he now dreaded her frowns; the moment approaching which was to determine his fate. But, on the other ſide, his courage revived from the reflection, that the rewards of his toils exceeded the dangers of them; and though he was uncertain with regard to the victory, he at leaſt hoped to die glorioufly, and like Alexander. However, he did not divulge theſe thoughts to any one, well knowing, that upon the approach of a battle, a general ought not to diſcover the leaſt marks of ſadneſs or perplexity; and that the troops ſhould read nothing but reſolution and intrepidity in the countenance of their commander.

Having made his ſoldiers refreſh themſelves, and ordered them to be ready for the third watch of the night, which began at twelve, he went * to the top of a mountain, and there, by torch-light, ſacrificed, after the manner of his country, to the gods of the place. As ſoon as the ſignal was given, his army, which was ready to march and fight, being commanded to make greater ſpeed, arrived by day-break at the ſeveral poſts aſſigned them, but now the couriers bringing word that Darius was not above thirty furlongs from them, the king cauſed his army to halt, and then drew it up in battle-array. The peaſants in the greateſt terror came alſo and acquainted Darius with the arrival of the enemy, which he would not at firſt believe, imagining, as we have obſerved, that Alexander fled before him, and endeavoured to eſcape. This news threw his troops into the utmoſt confuſion, who in that ſurpriſe ran to their arms with great precipitation and diſorder.

The ſpot where the battle was fought lay near the city of Iſſus, which the mountains bounded on one ſide, and the ſea on the other. The plain, that was ſituated between them both, muſt have been conſiderably broad, as the two armies encamped in it; and I before obſerved, that Darius's was vaſtly numerous. The river Pinarius ran through the middle of this plain from the mountain to the ſea, and divided it very near into two equal parts. The mountain formed a hollow like a gulph, the extremity of which in a curve line bounded part of the plain.

* The ancients uſed to offer up their ſacrifices upon eminences.

Alexander drew up his army in the following order. He poſted at the extremity of the right wing, which ſtood near the mountains, the Argyraſpides, * commanded by Nicanor; then the phalanx of Cœnus, and afterwards that of Perdiccas, which terminated in the centre of the main army. On the extremity of the left wing he poſted the phalanx of Amyntas, then that of Ptolemy, and laſtly, that of Meleager. Thus the famous Macedonian phalanx was formed, which we find was compoſed of ſix diſtinct corps or brigades. Each of theſe bodies was headed by able generals; but Alexander, being always generaliſſimo, had conſequently the command of the whole army. The horſe were placed on the two wings; the Macedonians, with the Theſſalians, on the right, and thoſe of Peloponneſus, with the other allies, on the left. Craterus commanded all the foot, which compoſed the left wing, and Parmenio the whole wing. Alexander had reſerved to himſelf the command of the right. He had deſired Parmenio to keep as near the ſea as poſſible, to prevent the Barbarians from ſurrounding him; and Nicanor, on the contrary, was ordered to keep at ſome diſtance from the mountains, to keep himſelf out of the reach of the arrows diſcharged by thoſe who were poſted on them. He covered the horſe of his right wing with the light horſe of Protomachus and the Pæonians, and his foot with the bowmen of Antiochus. He reſerved the † Agrians (commanded by Attalus) who were greatly eſteemed, and ſome forces that were newly arrived from Greece, to oppoſe thoſe Darius had poſted on the mountains.

As for Darius's army, it was drawn up in the following order. Having heard that Alexander was marching towards him in battle-array, he commanded thirty thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand bowmen to croſs the river Pinarius, that he might have an opportunity to draw up his army in a commodious manner on the hither ſide. In the centre he poſted the thirty thouſand Greeks in his ſervice, who, doubtleſs, were the flower and chief ſtrength of his army, and were not at all inferior in bravery to the Macedonian phalanx, with thirty thouſand Cardacians on their right, and as many on their left;

* This was a body of infantry, diſtinguiſhed by their ſilver ſhields, but much more ſo by their great bravery.

† Agria was a city between the mountains Hæmus and Rhodope.

the field of battle not being able to contain a greater number. Theſe were all heavily armed. The reſt of the infantry, diſtinguiſhed by their ſeveral nations, were ranged behind the firſt line. It is pity Arrian does not tell us the depth of each of thoſe two lines; but it muſt have been prodigious, if we conſider the extreme narrowneſs of the paſs, and the amazing multitude of the Perſian forces. On the mountain which lay to their left, againſt Alexander's right wing, Darius poſted twenty thouſand men, who were ſo ranged (in the ſeveral windings of the mountain) that ſome were behind Alexander's army, and others before it.

Darius, after having ſet his army in battle-array, made his horſe croſs the river again, and diſpatched the greateſt part of them towards the ſea againſt Parmenio, becauſe they could fight on that ſpot with the greateſt advantage: the reſt of his cavalry he ſent to the left, towards the mountain. However, finding that theſe would be of no ſervice on that ſide, becauſe of the too great narrowneſs of the ſpot, he cauſed a great part of them to wheel about to the right. As for himſelf, he took his poſt in the centre of his army, purſuant to the cuſtom of the Perſian monarchs.

Alexander, obſerving that moſt of the enemy's horſe was to oppoſe his left wing, which conſiſted only of thoſe of Peloponneſus, and of ſome other allies, detached immediately to it the Theſſalian cavalry, which he cauſed to wheel round behind his battalions, to prevent their being ſeen by the Barbarians. On the ſame ſide (the left) he poſted, before his foot, the Cretan bowmen, and the Thracians of Sitacles (a king of Thrace) who were covered by the horſe. The foreigners in his ſervice were behind all the reſt.

Perceiving that his right wing did not extend ſo far as the left of the Perſians, which might ſurround and attack it in flank, he drew from the centre of his army two regiments of foot, which he detached thither, with orders for them to march behind, to prevent their being ſeen by the enemy. He alſo re-inforced that wing of his forces which he had oppoſed to the Barbarians on the mountains; for, ſeeing they did not come down, he made the Agrians and ſome other bowmen attack them, and drive them towards the ſummit of it; ſo that he left only three hundred horſe to keep them in,

and ſent the reſt, as I obſerved, to re-inforce his right wing, which by this means extended further than that of the Perſians.

The two armies being thus drawn up in order of battle, Alexander marched very ſlowly, that his ſoldiers might take a little breath; ſo that it was ſuppoſed they would not engage till very late: for Darius ſtill continued with his army on the other ſide of the river, in order not to loſe the advantageous ſituation of his poſt; and even cauſed ſuch parts of the ſhore as were not craggy to be ſecured with paliſadoes, whence the Macedonians concluded that he was already afraid of being defeated. The two armies being come in ſight. Alexander, riding along the ranks, called, by their ſeveral names, the principal officers both of the Macedonians and foreigners; and exhorted the ſoldiers to ſignalize themſelves, ſpeaking to each nation according to its peculiar genius and diſpoſition. To the Macedonians he repreſented, "the victories they had "formerly gained in Europe; the ſtill recent glory of the "battle of the Granicus; the great number of cities and "provinces they had left behind them, all which they had "ſubdued." He added, that "by one ſingle victory they "would poſſeſs themſelves of the Perſian empire; and that the "ſpoils of the Eaſt would be the reward of their bravery and "toils." The Greeks he animated, "by the remembrance "of the many calamities which the Perſians (thoſe irreconcileable enemies to Greece) had brought upon them;" and "ſet before them, the famous battles of Marathon, of Thermopylæ, of Salamis, of Platææ, and the many others by "which they had acquired immortal glory." He bid the Illyrians and Thracians, nations who uſed to ſubſiſt by plunder and rapine, "view the enemy's army, every part of which "ſhone with gold and purple, and was not loaded ſo much "with arms as with booty. That they therefore ſhould puſh "forward (they who were men) and ſtrip all thoſe women of "their ornaments; and exchange their mountains, covered "perpetually with ice and ſnow, for the ſmiling plains and "rich fields of Perſia." The moment he had ended, the whole army ſet up a ſhout, and eagerly deſired to be led on directly againſt the enemy.

Alexander had advanced at firſt very ſlowly, to prevent the ranks, or the front of his phalanx, from breaking, and halted by intervals: But when he was got within bow-ſhot, he com-

manded all his right (wing) to plunge impetuouſly into the river, purpoſely that they might ſurpriſe the Barbarians, come ſooner to a cloſe engagement, and be leſs expoſed to the enemy's arrows; in all which he was very ſucceſsful. Both ſides fought with the utmoſt bravery and reſolution; and being now forced to fight cloſe, they charged on both ſides ſword in hand, when a dreadful ſlaughter enſued; for they engaged man to man, each aiming the point of his ſword at the face of his opponent. Alexander, who performed the duty both of a private ſoldier and of a commander, wiſhed nothing ſo ardently as the glory of killing, with his own hand, Darius, who being ſeated on a high chariot, was conſpicuous to the whole army; and by that means was a powerful object, both to encourage his own ſoldiers to defend, and the enemy to attack him. And now the battle grew more furious and bloody than before; ſo that a great number of Perſian noblemen were killed. Each ſide fought with incredible bravery. Oxathres, brother to Darius, obſerving that Alexander was going to charge that monarch with the utmoſt vigour, ruſhed before his chariot with the horſe under his command, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the reſt. The horſes that drew Darius's chariot, being quite covered with wounds, began to prance about; and ſhook the yoke ſo violently, that they were upon the point of overturning the king, who, ſeeing himſelf going to fall alive into the hands of his enemies, leaped down, and mounted another chariot. The reſt obſerving this, fled as faſt as poſſible, and throwing down their arms, made the beſt of their way. Alexander had received a ſlight wound in his thigh, but happily it was not attended with ill conſequences.

Whilſt part of the Macedonian infantry (poſted to the right) were carrying on the advantages they had gained againſt the Perſians, the remainder of them who engaged the Greeks met with greater reſiſtance. Theſe obſerving that the body of infantry in queſtion were no longer covered by the right (wing) of Alexander's army, which was purſuing the enemy, came and attacked it in flank. The engagement was very bloody, and victory a long time doubtful. The Greeks endeavoured to puſh the Macedonians into the river, and to recover the diſorder into which the left wing had been thrown. The Macedonians alſo ſignaliſed themſelves with the utmoſt bravery, in

order to preſerve the advantage which Alexander had juſt before gained, and ſupport the honour of their phalanx, which had always been conſidered as invincible. There was alſo a perpetual jealouſy between theſe two nations (the Greeks and Macedonians) which greatly increaſed their courage, and made the reſiſtance on each ſide very vigorous. On Alexander's ſide, Ptolemy the ſon of Seleucus loſt his life, with an hundred and twenty more conſiderable officers, who all had behaved with the utmoſt gallantry.

In the mean time the right wing, which was victorious under its monarch, after defeating all who oppoſed it, wheeled to the left againſt thoſe Greeks who were fighting with the reſt of the Macedonian phalanx, whom they charged very vigorouſly; and attacking them in flank, entirely routed them.

At the very beginning of the engagement, the Perſian cavalry which was in the right wing (without waiting for their being attacked by the Macedonians) had croſſed the river, and ruſhed upon the Theſſalian horſe, ſeveral of whoſe ſquadrons were broke by it. Upon this, the remainder of the latter, in order to avoid the impetuoſity of the firſt charge, and oblige the Perſians to break their ranks, made a feint of retiring, as terrified by the prodigious numbers of the enemy. The Perſians ſeeing this, were filled with boldneſs and confidence, and thereupon the greateſt part of them advancing without order or precaution, as to a certain victory, had no thoughts but of purſuing the enemy. Upon this, the Theſſalians ſeeing them in ſuch confuſion, faced about on a ſudden, and renewed the fight with freſh ardour. The Perſians made a brave defence, till they ſaw Darius put to flight, and the Greeks cut to pieces by the phalanx.

The routing of the Perſian cavalry compleated the defeat of the army. The Perſian horſe ſuffered very much in the retreat, from the great weight of the arms of their riders; not to mention, that as they retired in diſorder, and crouded in great numbers through paſſes, they bruiſed and unhorſed one another, and were more annoyed by their own ſoldiers than by the enemy. Beſides, the Theſſalian cavalry purſued them with ſo much fury, that they were as much ſhattered as the infantry, and loſt as many men.

With regard to Darius, as we before obſerved, the inſtant he ſaw his left wing broke, he was one of the firſt who fled in

his chariot; but getting afterwards into craggy rugged places, he mounted on horſeback, throwing down his bow, ſhield, and royal mantle. Alexander, however, did not attempt to purſue him, till he ſaw his phalanx had conquered the Greeks, and the Perſian horſe put to flight; which was of great advantage to the prince that fled.

About eight thouſand of the Greeks that were in Darius's ſervice (with their officers at their head, who were very brave) retired over the mountains, towards Tripoli in Syria, where finding the tranſports which had brought them from Leſbos upon dry ground, they fitted out as many of them as ſuited their purpoſe, and burnt the reſt, to prevent their being purſued.

As for the Barbarians, having exerted themſelves with bravery enough in the firſt attack, they afterwards gave way in the moſt ſhameful manner; and, being intent upon nothing but ſaving themſelves, they took different ways. Some ſtruck into the high road which led directly to Perſia; others ran into woods and lonely mountains; and a ſmall number returned to their camp, which the victorious enemy had already taken and plundered.

Syſigambis, Darius's mother, and that monarch's queen, who alſo was his ſiſter, remained in it, with two of the king's daughters, a ſon of his (a child) and ſome Perſian ladies. For the reſt had been carried to Damaſcus, with part of Darius's treaſure, and all ſuch things as contributed only to the luxury and magnificence of his court. No more than three thouſand talents * were found in his camp; but the reſt of the treaſure fell afterwards into the hands of Parmenio, at his taking the city of Damaſcus.

Alexander, weary of purſuing Darius, ſeeing night draw on, and that it would be impoſſible for him to overtake that monarch, returned to the enemy's camp, which his ſoldiers had juſt before plundered. Such was the end of this memorable battle, fought the fourth year of Alexander's reign. The † Perſians, either in the engagement or the rout, loſt a great

A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

* About 440,000l. ſterling.

† According to Quintus Curtius and Arrian, the Perſians loſt an hundred thouſand foot, and ten thouſand horſe. And the former hiſtorian relates, that no more than an hundred and fifty horſe, and three hundred foot, were loſt on Alexander's ſide, which does not ſeem very probable.

number of their forces, both horſe and foot; but very few were killed on Alexander's ſide.

That very evening he invited the grandees of his court, and his chief officers, to a feaſt, at which he himſelf was preſent, notwithſtanding the wound he had received, it having only grazed the ſkin. But they were no ſooner ſet down at table, than they heard, from a neighbouring tent, a great noiſe, intermixed with groans, which frighted all the company; inſomuch that the ſoldiers, who were upon guard before the king's tent, ran to their arms, being afraid of an inſurrection. But it was found, that the perſons who made this clamour were the mother and wife of Darius, and the reſt of the captive ladies, who, ſuppoſing that prince dead, bewailed his loſs, according to the cuſtom of the Barbarians, with dreadful cries and howlings. An eunuch, who had ſeen Darius's cloak in the hands of a ſoldier, imagining he had killed him, and afterwards ſtripped him of that garment, had carried them that falſe account.

We are told that Alexander, upon being told the reaſon of this falſe alarm, could not refrain from tears, when he conſidered the ſad calamity of Darius, and the tender diſpoſition of thoſe princeſſes, whom his misfortunes only affected. He thereupon ſent Leonatus, one of his chief courtiers, to aſſure them, that the man whoſe death they bewailed was alive. Leonatus, taking ſome ſoldiers with him, came to the tent of the princeſſes, and ſent word, that he was come to pay them a viſit in the king's name. The perſons, who were at the entrance of the tent, ſeeing a band of armed men, imagined that their miſtreſſes were undone; and accordingly ran into the tent, crying aloud, that their laſt hour was come, and that ſoldiers were diſpatched to murder them; ſo that theſe princeſſes being ſeiſed with the utmoſt diſtraction, did not make the leaſt anſwer, but waited in deep ſilence for the orders of the conqueror. At laſt, Leonatus having ſtaid a long time, and ſeeing no one appear, left his ſoldiers at the door, and came into the tent: But their terror increaſed, when they ſaw a man enter among them without being introduced. They thereupon threw themſelves at his feet, and intreated, that "before he put them "to death, they might be allowed to bury Darius after the "manner of their country; and that when they had paid this laſt "duty to their king, they ſhould die contented." Leonatus

anſwered, "That Darius was living; and that ſo far from "giving them any offence, they ſhould be treated as queens, "and live in their former ſplendour." Syſigambis hearing this, began to recover her ſpirits, and permitted Leonatus to give her his hand, to raiſe her from the ground.

The next day Alexander, after viſiting the wounded, cauſed the laſt honours to be paid to the dead, in preſence of the whole army, drawn up in the moſt ſplendid order of battle. He treated the Perſians of diſtinction in the ſame manner, and permitted Darius's mother to bury whatever perſons ſhe pleaſed, according to the cuſtoms and ceremonies practiſed in her country. However, this prudent princeſs uſed that permiſſion in regard only to a few who were her near relations; and that with ſuch a modeſty and reſerve as ſhe thought ſuited her preſent condition. The king teſtified his joy and gratitude to the whole army, eſpecially to the chief officers, whoſe actions he applauded in the ſtrongeſt terms, as well thoſe of which he himſelf had been an eye-witneſs, as ſuch as had been only related to him; and he made preſents to all, according to their merit and ſtation.

After Alexander had performed theſe ſeveral duties, truly worthy a great monarch, he ſent a meſſage to the queens, to inform them that he was coming to pay them a viſit; and accordingly commanding all his train to withdraw, he entered the tent, accompanied only by Hephæſtion. He was his favourite, and as they had been brought up together, the king revealed his ſecrets to him, and * nobody elſe dared to ſpeak ſo freely to him; but even Hephæſtion made ſo cautious and diſcreet an uſe of that liberty, that he ſeemed to take it, not ſo much out of inclination, as from a deſire to obey the king, who would have it ſo. They were of the ſame age, but Hephæſtion was taller, ſo that the queens took him at firſt for the king, and paid him their reſpects as ſuch: But ſome captive eunuchs ſhowing them Alexander, Syſigambis fell proſtrate before him, and begged his pardon; declaring, that as ſhe had never ſeen him, ſhe hoped that conſideration would plead her apology. The king, raiſing her from the ground, "Dear mother," ſays he, "you are not miſtaken, for he alſo is an

* *Libertatis quoque in eo admonendo non alius jus habebat; quod tamen ita uſurpabat, ut magis à rege permiſſum quàm vindicatum ab eo videretur.* QUINT. CURTIUS.

Alexander:" * A fine expreſſion, which does honour to both! Had Alexander always thought and acted in this manner, he would have juſtly merited the title of Great; but † fortune had not yet corrupted his ſoul. He bore her at firſt with moderation and wiſdom; but at laſt ſhe overpowered him, and he became unable to reſiſt her.

Syſigambis, ſtrongly affected with theſe teſtimonies of goodneſs and humanity, could not forbear teſtifying her gratitude upon that account. "Great prince (ſaid ſhe to him) what "words ſhall I find to expreſs my thanks, in ſuch a manner as "may anſwer your generoſity! You call me your mother, and "honour me ſtill with the title of queen, whereas I confeſs "myſelf your captive. I ‡ know what I have been, and "what I now am. I know the whole extent of my paſt "grandeur, and find I can ſupport all the weight of my "preſent ill fortune. But it will be glorious for you, as you "now have an abſolute power over us, to make us feel it by "your clemency only, and not by ill treatment."

The king, after comforting the princeſſes, took Darius's ſon in his arms. This little child, without diſcovering the leaſt terror, embraced Alexander, who being affected with his confidence, and turning about to Hephæſtion, ſaid to him; "O that Darius had had ſome portion of this tender diſpoſition!"

It is certain that Darius, in the beginning of his reign, behaved in ſuch a manner, that he ſurpaſſed, in clemency and goodneſs, all the kings his predeceſſors; and was ſuperior to a paſſion which conquers and enſlaves the ſtrongeſt. Darius's conſort was the moſt lovely princeſs in the world, as he himſelf was the moſt beautiful of princes, and of a very tall and moſt majeſtic ſhape; and the princeſſes their daughters reſembled them. They were, ſays Plutarch, in Alexander's camp, not as in that of an enemy, but as in a ſacred temple, and a ſanctuary aſſigned for the aſylum of chaſtity, in which all the

* *O donum inclitæ vocis, danti pariter atque accipienti ſpecioſum!* VAL. MAX. l. iv. c. 7.

† *Sed nondum fortuna ſe animo ejus infuderat. Itaque orientem eam moderatè & prudenter tulit: ad ultimum magnitudinem ejus non cepit.* QUINT. CURT.

‡ *Et præteritæ fortunæ faſtigium capio, & præſentis jugum pati poſſum.* QUINT. CURT.

princeſſes lived ſo retired, that they were not ſeen by any perſon, nor did any one dare to approach their apartments.

We even find, that after the firſt viſit above mentioned, which was a reſpectful and ceremonious one, Alexander, to avoid expoſing himſelf to the dangers of human frailty, took a ſolemn reſolution never to viſit Darius's queen any more. [e] He himſelf informs us of this memorable circumſtance, in a letter written by him to Parmenio, in which he commanded him to put to death certain Macedonians who had forced the wives of ſome foreign ſoldiers. In this letter the following words were read: "For, as to myſelf, it will be found that I neither ſaw, nor would ſee, the wife of Darius; and did not ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak of her beauty before me." We are to remember that Alexander was young, victorious, and free, that is, not engaged in marriage, as has been obſerved of the firſt [f] Scipio on a like occaſion. *Et juvenis, & cælebs, & victor.*

To conclude, he treated theſe princeſſes with ſuch humanity, that nothing but the remembrance that they were captives, could have made them ſenſible of their calamity; and of all the advantages they poſſeſſed before, nothing was wanting with regard to Alexander, but that truſt and confidence, which no one can repoſe in an enemy, how kindly ſoever he behaves.

SECT. VI. *Alexander marches victorious into Syria. The treaſures depoſited in Damaſcus are delivered to him. Darius writes a letter to Alexander in the moſt haughty terms, which he anſwers in the ſame ſtile. The gates of the city of Sidon are opened to him. Abdolonymus is placed upon the throne againſt his will. Alexander lays ſiege to Tyre, which at laſt, after having made a vigorous defence, is taken by ſtorm. The fulfilling of the different prophecies relating to Tyre.*

[g] ALEXANDER ſet out towards Syria, after having conſecrated three altars on the river Pinarius, the firſt to Jupiter, the ſecond to Hercules, and the third to Minerva, as ſo many monuments of his victory. He had ſent Parmenio A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

[e] Plut. in Alex. [f] Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.
[g] Diod. l. xvii. p. 517, 518. Arrian. l. ii. p. 83—86. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 1. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 10.

to Damaſcus, in which Darius's treaſure was depoſited. The governor of the city, betraying his ſovereign from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treaſure and other rich ſtores of Darius. But being deſirous of covering his treaſon with a ſpecious pretext, he pretended that he was not ſecure in the city, ſo cauſed, by day-break, all the money and the richeſt things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, ſeemingly with intention to ſecure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addreſſed to the king. At the firſt ſight of the forces which this general headed, thoſe who carried the burthens being frighted, threw, them down, and fled away, as did the ſoldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himſelf, who was moſt terrified. On this occaſion immenſe riches were ſeen ſcattered up and down the fields; all the gold and ſilver deſigned to pay ſo great an army; the ſplendid equipages of ſo many great lords and ladies; the golden vaſes and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, whatever the long proſperity and frugality of ſo many kings had amaſſed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the moſt moving part of this ſad ſcene was to ſee the wives of the ſatraps and grandees of Perſia, moſt of whom dragged their little children after them; ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they were leſs ſenſible of their misfortune. Among theſe were three young princeſſes, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greateſt lord of the court, and his ſon Ilioneus. There alſo were taken priſoners the wife and ſon of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coaſts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and ſon of Memnon, that illuſtrious general; inſomuch that ſcarce one noble family in all Perſia but ſhared in this calamity.

There alſo was found in Damaſcus the ambaſſadors of the Grecian cities, particularly thoſe of Lacedæmonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a ſafe aſylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Beſides money and plate, which was afterwards coined, and

amounted to immenſe ſums, thirty thouſand men, and ſeven thouſand beaſts laden with baggage, were taken. [h] We find, by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damaſcus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well ſkilled in muſick; and alſo a multitude of officers, whoſe buſineſs was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; ſuch as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and eſſences, to dreſs viands, to make pies, and all things in the paſtry way, to preſide over the wine cellars, to give out the wine, and ſuch like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of theſe officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his deſtruction!

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of ſo mighty and ſplendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a deſert or vaſt ſolitude. This ill-fated prince rode ſwiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the ſame road, and moſt of thoſe who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horſes. At laſt he arrived at * Sochus, where he aſſembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thouſand men, including Perſians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all poſſible haſte to Thapſacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damaſcus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewiſe of the captives. Moſt of the cities of Syria ſurrendered at the firſt approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he ſtiled himſelf king, without beſtowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, "to "aſk any ſum of money he ſhould think proper, by way of "ranſom for his mother, his wife, and children. That with "regard to their diſpute for empire, he might, if he thought "proper, decide it in one general battle, to which both

[h] Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

* This city was two or three days' journey from the place where the battle was fought.

to Damaſcus, in which Darius's treaſure was depoſited. The governor of the city, betraying his ſovereign from whom he had now no further expectations, wrote to Alexander to acquaint him, that he was ready to deliver up into his hands all the treaſure and other rich ſtores of Darius. But being deſirous of covering his treaſon with a ſpecious pretext, he pretended that he was not ſecure in the city, ſo cauſed, by daybreak, all the money and the richeſt things in it to be put on men's backs, and fled away with the whole, ſeemingly with intention to ſecure them, but in reality to deliver them up to the enemy, as he had agreed with Parmenio, who had opened the letter addreſſed to the king. At the firſt ſight of the forces which this general headed, thoſe who carried the burthens being frighted, threw, them down, and fled away, as did the ſoldiers who convoyed them, and the governor himſelf, who was moſt terrified. On this occaſion immenſe riches were ſeen ſcattered up and down the fields; all the gold and ſilver deſigned to pay ſo great an army; the ſplendid equipages of ſo many great lords and ladies; the golden vaſes and bridles, magnificent tents, and carriages abandoned by their drivers; in a word, whatever the long proſperity and frugality of ſo many kings had amaſſed during many ages, was abandoned to the conqueror.

But the moſt moving part of this ſad ſcene was to ſee the wives of the ſatraps and grandees of Perſia, moſt of whom dragged their little children after them; ſo much the greater objects of compaſſion, as they were leſs ſenſible of their misfortune. Among theſe were three young princeſſes, daughters of Ochus, who had reigned before Darius; the widow of this Ochus; the daughter of Oxathres, brother to Darius; the wife of Artabazus, the greateſt lord of the court, and his ſon Ilioneus. There alſo were taken priſoners the wife and ſon of Pharnabazus, whom the king had appointed admiral of all the coaſts; three daughters of Mentor; the wife and ſon of Memnon, that illuſtrious general; inſomuch that ſcarce one noble family in all Perſia but ſhared in this calamity.

There alſo was found in Damaſcus the ambaſſadors of the Grecian cities, particularly thoſe of Lacedæmonia and Athens, whom Darius thought he had lodged in a ſafe aſylum, when he put them under the protection of that traitor.

Beſides money and plate, which was afterwards coined, and

amounted to immenſe ſums, thirty thouſand men, and ſeven thouſand beaſts laden with baggage, were taken. [h] We find, by Parmenio's letter to Alexander, that he found in Damaſcus three hundred and twenty-nine of Darius's concubines, all admirably well ſkilled in muſick; and alſo a multitude of officers, whoſe buſineſs was to regulate and prepare every thing relating to entertainments; ſuch as to make wreaths, to prepare perfumes and eſſences, to dreſs viands, to make pies, and all things in the paſtry way, to preſide over the wine cellars, to give out the wine, and ſuch like. There were four hundred and ninety-two of theſe officers; a train worthy a prince who runs to his deſtruction!

Darius, who a few hours before was at the head of ſo mighty and ſplendid an army, and who came into the field mounted on a chariot, with the pride of a conqueror, rather than with the equipage of a warrior, was flying over plains, which, from being before covered with the infinite multitude of his forces, now appeared like a deſert or vaſt ſolitude. This ill-fated prince rode ſwiftly the whole night, accompanied by a very few attendants; for all had not taken the ſame road, and moſt of thoſe who accompanied him could not keep up with him, as he often changed his horſes. At laſt he arrived at * Sochus, where he aſſembled the remains of his army, which amounted only to four thouſand men, including Perſians as well as foreigners; and from hence he made all poſſible haſte to Thapſacus, in order to have the Euphrates between him and Alexander.

In the mean time, Parmenio having carried all the booty into Damaſcus, the king commanded him to take care of it, and likewiſe of the captives. Moſt of the cities of Syria ſurrendered at the firſt approaches of the conqueror. Being arrived at Marathes, he received a letter from Darius, in which he ſtiled himſelf king, without beſtowing that title on Alexander. He commanded, rather than intreated him, "to "aſk any ſum of money he ſhould think proper, by way of "ranſom for his mother, his wife, and children. That with "regard to their diſpute for empire, he might, if he thought "proper, decide it in one general battle, to which both

[h] Athen. l. xiii. p. 607.

* This city was two or three days' journey from the place where the battle was fought.

" parties ſhould bring an equal number of troops: But that in " caſe he were ſtill capable of good counſel, he would adviſe " him to reſt contented with the kingdom of his anceſtors, and " not invade that of another: that they ſhould henceforward " live as good friends and faithful allies; that he himſelf was " ready to ſwear to the obſervance of theſe articles, and to " receive Alexander's oath."

This letter, which breathed ſo unſeaſonable a pride and haughtineſs, exceedingly offended Alexander. He therefore wrote the following anſwer: " Alexander the king to Darius. " The ancient Darius, whoſe name you aſſume, in former " times entirely ruined the Greeks who inhabit the coaſts of " the Helleſpont, and the Ionians, our ancient colonies. He " next croſſed the ſea at the head of a powerful army, and " carried the war into the very heart of Macedonia and " Greece. After him, Xerxes made another deſcent with a " dreadful number of barbarians, in order to fight us; and " having been overcome in a naval engagement, he left, at his " retiring, Mardonius in Greece, who plundered our cities, " and laid waſte our plains. But who has not heard that " Philip, my father, was aſſaſſinated by wretches ſuborned " thereto by your partizans, in hopes of a great reward? For " it is cuſtomary with the Perſians to undertake impious wars, " and, when armed in the field, to ſet a price upon the heads " of their enemies. And even you yourſelf, though at the " head of a vaſt army, however promiſed a thouſand talents " to any perſon who ſhould kill me. I therefore only defend " myſelf, and conſequently am not the aggreſſor. And in- " deed the gods, who always declare for the juſt cauſe, have " favoured my arms; and, aided by their protection, I have " ſubjected a great part of Aſia, and defeated you, Darius, in a " pitched battle. However, though I ought not to grant any " requeſt you make, ſince you have not acted fairly in this " war; nevertheleſs, in caſe you will appear before me in a " ſupplicating poſture, I give you my word, that I will re- " ſtore to you, without any ranſom, your mother, your wife, " and children. I will let you ſee, that I know how to con- " quer, and to oblige the conquered.* If you are afraid of " ſurrendering yourſelf to me, I now aſſure you, upon my

* *Et vincere, & conſulere victis ſcio.* Q. CURT.

" honour, that you may do it without the leaſt danger. But " remember, when you next write to me, that you write not " only to a king, but to your king." Therſippus was ordered to carry this letter.

Alexander, marching from thence into Phœnicia, the citizens of Byblos opened their gates to him. Every one ſubmitted as he advanced; but no people did this with greater pleaſure than the Sidonians. We have ſeen in what manner Ochus had deſtroyed their city eighteen years before, and put all the inhabitants of it to the ſword, After he was returned into Perſia, ſuch of the citizens, who, upon account of their traffic, or for ſome other cauſe, had been abſent, and by that means had eſcaped the maſſacre, returned thither, and rebuilt their city. But they had retained ſo violent a hatred of the Perſians, that they were overjoyed at this opportunity to throw off their yoke; and indeed they were the firſt in that country who ſubmitted to the king by their deputies, in oppoſition to Strato their king, who had declared in favour of Darius. Alexander dethroned him, and permitted Hephæſtion to elect in his ſtead whomſoever of the Sidonians he ſhould judge worthy of ſo exalted a ſtation.

This favourite was quartered at the houſe of two brothers, who were young, and of the moſt conſiderable family in the city; to theſe he offered the crown: But they refuſed it, telling him, that according to the laws of their country, no perſon could aſcend the throne, unleſs he were of the blood royal. Hephæſtion admiring this greatneſs of ſoul, which could contemn what others ſtrive to obtain by fire and ſword; " Continue (ſays he to them) in this way of thinking; you, " who before were ſenſible that it is much more glorious to " refuſe a diadem, than to accept it. However, name me " ſome perſon of the royal family, who may remember, when " he is king, that it was you ſet the crown on his head." The brothers, obſerving that ſeveral through exceſſive ambition aſpired to this high ſtation, and to obtain it paid a ſervile court to Alexander's favourites, declared that they did not know any perſon more worthy of the diadem than one Abdolonymus, deſcended, though at a great diſtance, from the royal line; but who, at the ſame time, was ſo poor, that he was obliged to get his bread by day-labour in a garden without the city. His honeſty and integrity had reduced him, as well as

many more, to ſo extreme poverty. Solely intent upon his labour, he did not hear the claſhing of the arms which had ſhaken all Aſia.

Immediately the two brothers went in ſearch of Abdolonymus with the royal garments, and found him weeding his garden. They then ſaluted him king, and one of them addreſſed him thus: "You muſt now change your tatters for "the dreſs I have brought you. Put off the mean and con- "temptible habit in which you have grown old; * aſſume the "ſentiments of a prince; but when you are ſeated on the "throne, continue to preſerve the virtue which made you "worthy of it. And when you ſhall have aſcended it, and "by that means become the ſupreme diſpenſer of life and "death over all your citizens, be ſure never to forget the "condition in which, or rather for which, you was elected." Abdolonymus looked upon the whole as a dream, and, unable to gueſs the meaning of it, aſked if they were not aſhamed to ridicule him in that manner. But, as he made a greater reſiſtance than ſuited their inclinations, they themſelves waſhed him, and threw over his ſhoulders a purple robe, richly embroidered with gold; then after repeated oaths of their being in earneſt, they conducted him to the palace.

The news of this was immediately ſpread over the whole city. Moſt of the inhabitants were overjoyed at it, but ſome murmured, eſpecially the rich, who, deſpiſing Abdolonymus's former abject ſtate, could not forbear ſhewing their reſentments upon that account in the king's court. Alexander commanded the new elected prince to be ſent for; and after ſurveying him attentively a long time, ſpoke thus: "Thy † air and mien do "not contradict what is related of thy extraction; but I ſhould "be glad to know with what frame of mind thou didſt bear "thy poverty."—"Would to the gods (replied he) that I may "bear this crown with equal patience. Theſe hands have

* *Cape Regis animum, & in eam fortunam, qua dignus es, iſtam continentiam profer. Et, cum in regali ſolio reſidebis, vitæ neciſque omnium civium dominus, cave obliviſcaris hujus ſtatûs in quo accipis regnum, imò hercule, propter quem.* Quint. Curt.

† *Corporis*, inquit, *habitus, famæ generis non repugnat. Sed libet ſcire, inopiam qua patientia tuleris.* Tum ille: *utinam*, inquit, *eodem animo regnum* ‡ *pati poſſim! Hæ manus ſuffecere deſiderio meo. Nihil habenti, nihil defuit.* Q. Curt.

‡ The thought is beautiful and juſt. He conſiders the regal power as a burthen, more difficult to be borne than poverty: *regnum pati.*

" procured me all I desired; and whilst I possessed nothing, " I wanted nothing." This answer gave Alexander an high idea of Abdolonymus's virtue; so that he presented him not only with all the rich furniture which had belonged to Strato, and part of the Persian plunder, but likewise annexed one of the neighbouring provinces to his dominions.

[h] Syria and Phœnicia were already subdued by the Macedonians, the city of Tyre excepted. This city was justly entitled the queen of the sea, that element bringing to it the tribute of all nations. She boasted her having first invented navigation, and taught mankind the art of braving the wind and waves by the assistance of a frail bark. The happy situation of Tyre, the conveniency and extent of its ports, the character of its inhabitants, who were industrious, laborious, patient, and extremely courteous to strangers, invited thither merchants from all parts of the globe; so that it might be considered, not so much as a city belonging to any particular nation, as the common city of all nations, and the centre of their commerce.

Upon Alexander's advancing towards it, the Tyrians sent him an embassy with presents for himself, and refreshments for his army. They were willing to have him for their friend, but not for their master; so that when he discovered a desire of entering their city, in order to offer a sacrifice to Hercules, its tutelar god, they refused him admission. But this conqueror, after gaining so many victories, had too high an heart to put up such an affront, and thereupon was resolved to force them to it by a siege, which they, on the other side, were determined to sustain with the utmost vigour. The spring was now coming on. Tyre was at that time seated in an island of the sea, about a quarter of a * league from the continent. It was surrounded with a strong wall an hundred and fifty feet high, which the waves of the sea washed; and the Carthaginians (a colony from Tyre) a mighty people, and sovereigns of the ocean, whose ambassadors were at that time in the city offering to Hercules, according to ancient custom, an annual sacrifice, had engaged themselves to succour the Tyrians. It

[h] Diod. l. xvii. p. 518—525. Arrian. l. ii. p. 87—100. Plut. in Alex. p. 678. & 697. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 2, 3, 4. Justin. l. xi. c. 10.

* Four furlongs.

was this made them ſo haughty. Firmly determined not to ſurrender, they fix machines on the ramparts, and on the towers, arm their young men, and build work-houſes for the artificers, of whom there were great numbers in the city; ſo that every part reſounded with the noiſe of warlike preparations. They likewiſe caſt iron grapples, to throw on the enemy's works, and tear them away; as alſo cramp-irons, and ſuch like inſtruments invented for the defence of cities.

Alexander imagined that there were eſſential reaſons why he ſhould poſſeſs himſelf of Tyre. He was ſenſible that he could not invade Egypt eaſily, ſo long as the Perſians ſhould be maſters of the ſea; nor purſue Darius with ſafety, in caſe he ſhould leave behind him ſo large an extent of country, the inhabitants of which were either enemies, or ſuſpected to be ſo. He likewiſe was afraid, leſt ſome inſurrection ſhould break out in Greece; and that his enemies, after having retaken in his abſence the maritime cities of Aſia Minor, and increaſed their fleet, would make his country the ſeat of war during his being employed in purſuing Darius in the plains of Babylon. Theſe apprehenſions were the more juſtly grounded, as the Lacedæmonians had declared openly againſt him; and the Athenians ſided with him more out of fear than affection. But, that in caſe he ſhould conquer Tyre, all Phœnicia being then ſubject to him, he would be able to diſpoſſeſs the Perſians of half their naval army, which conſiſted of the fleet of that province; and would ſoon make himſelf maſter of the iſland of Cyprus and of Egypt, which could not reſiſt him the inſtant he was become maſter at ſea.

On the other ſide, one would have imagined that, according to all the rules of war, Alexander, after the battle of Iſſus, ought to have purſued Darius vigorouſly, and neither given him an opportunity of recovering from the fright into which his defeat had thrown him, nor allowed him time to raiſe a new army; the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, which appeared infallible, being the only thing that could make him formidable and ſuperior to all his enemies. Add to this, that in caſe Alexander ſhould not be able to take this city (which was not very unlikely) he would deſcredit his own arms, would loſe the fruit of his victories, and prove to the enemy that he was not invincible. But God, who had appointed this monarch to chaſtiſe the pride of Tyre, as will be ſeen hereafter, did

not once permit thoſe thoughts to enter his mind; but determined him to lay ſiege to the place, in ſpite of all the difficulties which oppoſed ſo hazardous a deſign, and the many reaſons which ſhould have prompted him to purſue quite different meaſures.

It was impoſſible to come near this city in order to ſtorm it, without making a bank which would reach from the continent to the iſland; and an attempt of this kind would be attended with difficulties that were ſeemingly inſurmountable. The little arm of the ſea, which ſeparated the iſland from the continent, was expoſed to the weſt wind, which often raiſed ſuch dreadful ſtorms there, that the waves would in an inſtant ſweep away all works. Beſides, as the city was ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea, there was no fixing ſcaling-ladders, nor throwing up batteries, but at a diſtance in the ſhips; and the wall, which projected into the ſea towards the lower part, prevented people from landing; not to mention that the military engines, which might have been put on board the gallies, could not do much execution, the waves were ſo very tumultuous.

But nothing was capable of checking or vanquiſhing the reſolution of Alexander, who was determined to carry the city at any rate. However, as the few veſſels he poſſeſſed lay at a great diſtance from him, and the ſiege of ſo ſtrong a place might poſſibly laſt a long time, and ſo retard his other enterpriſes, he thought proper to endeavour an accommodation. Accordingly, he ſent heralds, who propoſed a peace between Alexander and their city; but theſe the Tyrians killed, contrary to the law of nations, and threw them from the top of the walls into the ſea. Alexander, exaſperated at ſo cruel an outrage, formed a reſolution at once, and employed his whole attention in raiſing a dike. He found in the ruins of old Tyre, which ſtood on the continent, and was called Palæ-Tyros, materials to make piers, taking all the ſtones and rubbiſh from it. Mount Libanus, which was not far diſtant from it, ſo famous in ſcripture for its cedars, furniſhed him with wood for piles, and other timber-work.

The ſoldiers began the pier with great alacrity, being animated by the preſence of their ſovereign, who himſelf gave

out all the orders; and who, * knowing perfectly how to inſinuate himſelf into, and gain the affections of his troops, excited ſome by praiſes, and others by ſlight reprimands, intermixed with kind expreſſions, and ſoftened by promiſes. At firſt they advanced with pretty great ſpeed, the piles being eaſily drove into the ſlime, which ſerved as mortar for the ſtones; and as the place where theſe works were carrying on, was at ſome diſtance from the city, they went on without interruption. But the farther they went from the ſhore, the greater difficulties they met with; becauſe the ſea was deeper, and the workmen were very much annoyed by the darts diſcharged from the top of the walls. The enemy, who were maſters of the ſea, coming forward in great boats, and razing every part of the dike, prevented the Macedonians from carrying it on with vigour. Then adding inſults to their attacks, they cried aloud to Alexander's ſoldiers, "That it was "a noble ſight to ſee thoſe conquerors, whoſe names were ſo "renowned all the world over, carrying burthens on their "backs like ſo many beaſts." And they would afterwards aſk them in a contemptuous tone of voice, "whether Alex-"ander were greater than Neptune; and if they pretended to "prevail over that god?"

But theſe taunts did but inflame the courage of the ſoldiers. At laſt the bank appeared above water, began to ſhow a level of a conſiderable breadth, and to approach the city. Then the beſieged perceiving with terror the vaſtneſs of the work, which the ſea had till then kept from their ſight, came in their ſhip-boats in order to view the bank, which was not yet very firm. Theſe boats were full of ſlingers, bowmen, and others who hurled javelins, and even fire; and being ſpread to the right and left about the bank, they ſhot on all ſides upon the workmen, ſeveral of whom were wounded; it not being poſſible for them to ward off the blows, becauſe of the great eaſe and ſwiftneſs with which the boats moved backwards and forwards; ſo that they were obliged to leave the work to defend themſelves. It was therefore reſolved, that ſkins and ſails ſhould be ſpread to cover the workmen; and that two wooden towers ſhould be raiſed at the head of the bank, to prevent the approaches of the enemy.

* *Haud quaquam rudis tractandi militares animos.* Q. CURT.

On the other ſide, the Tyrians made a deſcent on the ſhore, out of the view of the camp, where they landed ſome ſoldiers, who cut to pieces thoſe that carried the ſtones; and on mount Libanus there alſo were ſome Arabian peaſants, who, meeting the Macedonians ſtraggling up and down, killed near thirty of them, and took very near the ſame number. Theſe ſmall loſſes obliged Alexander to ſeparate his troops into different bodies.

The beſieged, in the mean time, employed every invention, every ſtratagem that could be found, to ruin the enemy's works. They took a tranſport-veſſel, and filling it with bruſhes, and ſuch like dry materials, made a large incloſure near the prow, wherein they threw all theſe things, with ſulphur and pitch, and other combuſtible matters. In the middle of this incloſure they ſet up two maſts, to each of which they fixed two ſail-yards, on which were hung kettles full of oil, and ſuch like unctuous ſubſtances. They afterwards loaded the hinder part of the veſſel with ſtones and ſand, in order to raiſe the prow; and taking advantage of a favourable wind, they towed it to ſea by the aſſiſtance of their gallies. As ſoon as they were come near the towers, they ſet fire to the veſſel in queſtion, and drew it towards the point or extremity of the bank. In the mean time the ſailors, who were in it, leaped into the ſea and ſwam away. Immediately the fire catched, with great violence, the towers, and the reſt of the works which were at the head of the bank; and then the ſail yards being drove backwards and forwards, threw oil upon the fire, which very much increaſed the flame. But, to prevent the Macedonians from extinguiſhing it, the Tyrians, who were in their gallies, were perpetually hurling at the towers fiery darts and burning torches, inſomuch that there was no approaching them. Several Macedonians loſt their lives in a miſerable manner on the bank; being either ſhot through with arrows, or burnt to death; whilſt others, throwing down their arms, leaped into the ſea. But as they were ſwimming away, the Tyrians, chooſing to take them alive rather than kill them, maimed their hands with clubs and ſtones; and after diſabling them, carried them off. At the ſame time the beſieged, coming out of the city in little boats,

beat down the edges of the bank, tore up its ſtakes, and burnt the reſt of the engines.

Alexander, though he ſaw moſt of his deſigns defeated, and his works demoliſhed, was not at all dejected upon that account. His ſoldiers endeavoured, with redoubled vigour, to repair the ruins of the bank; and made and planted new machines with ſo prodigious a ſpeed, as quite aſtoniſhed the enemy. Alexander himſelf was preſent on all occaſions, and ſuperintended every part of the works. His preſence and great abilities advanced theſe ſtill more, than the multitude of hands employed in them. The whole was near finiſhed, and brought almoſt to the wall of the city, when there aroſe on a ſudden an impetuous wind, which drove the waves with ſo much fury againſt the bank, that the cement and other things that bound it gave way, and the water ruſhing through the ſtones, broke it in the middle. As ſoon as the great heap of ſtones which ſupported the earth was thrown down, the whole ſunk at once, as into an abyſs.

Any warrior but Alexander would that inſtant have quite laid aſide his enterpriſe; and indeed he himſelf debated whether he ſhould not raiſe the ſiege. But a ſuperior power, who had foretold and ſworn the ruin of Tyre, and whoſe orders this prince only executed, prompted him to continue the ſiege, and diſpelling all his fear and anxiety, inſpired him with courage and confidence, and fired the breaſts of his whole army with the ſame ſentiments. For now the ſoldiers, as if but that moment arrived before the city, forgetting all the toils they had undergone, began to raiſe a new mole, at which they worked inceſſantly.

Alexander was ſenſible, that it would not be poſſible for him either to complete the bank, or take the city, as long as the Tyrians ſhould continue maſters at ſea. He therefore reſolved to aſſemble before Sidon his few remaining gallies. At the ſame time, the kings of * Aradus and Byblos, hearing that Alexander had conquered their cities, abandoned the Perſian fleet, joined him with theirs, and that of the Sidonians, which made in all eighty ſail. There arrived alſo, much about the ſame time, ten gallies from Rhodes, three from Solæ and Mallos, ten from Lycia, and one from Macedonia of fifty

* Cities of Phœnicia.

oars. A little after, the kings of Cyprus, hearing that the Perſian army had been defeated near the city of Iſſus, and that Alexander had poſſeſſed himſelf of Phœnicia, brought him a re-inforcement of upwards of one hundred and twenty gallies.

The king, whilſt his ſoldiers were preparing the ſhips and engines, took ſome troops of horſe, with his own regiment of guards, and marched towards a mountain of Arabia, called Antilibanus. The tender regard he had for an old gentleman, formerly his tutor, who was abſolutely reſolved to follow his pupil, expoſed Alexander to very great danger. This was Lyſimachus, who gave the name of Achilles to his ſcholar, and called himſelf * Phœnix. When the king was got to the foot of the mountain, he leaped from his horſe, and began to walk. His troops got a conſiderable way before him. It was already late, and Alexander not being willing to leave his preceptor, who was very corpulent, and ſcarce able to walk, he by that means was ſeparated from his little army, accompanied only by a very few ſoldiers; and in this manner ſpent the whole night very near the enemy, who were ſo numerous, that they might eaſily have overpowered him. However, his uſual good fortune and courage extricated him from this danger; ſo that, coming up afterwards with his forces, he advanced forward into the country, took all the ſtrong places either by force or capitulation, and returned the eleventh day to Sidon, where he found Alexander, ſon of Polemocrates, who had brought him a re-inforcement of four thouſand Greeks from Peloponneſus.

The fleet being ready, Alexander took ſome ſoldiers from among his guards, and theſe he embarked with him, in order to employ them in cloſe fight with the enemy; and then ſet ſail towards Tyre in battle-array. He himſelf was at the point or extremity of the right wing, which extended itſelf towards the main ocean, being accompanied by the kings of Cyprus and Phœnicia; the left was commanded by Craterus. The Tyrians were at firſt determined to give battle; but after they heard of the uniting of theſe forces, and ſaw the army advance, which made a great appearance (for Alexander had halted to wait the coming-up of his left wing) they kept all their gallies in the harbours, to prevent the enemy from enter-

* It is well known that Phœnix was governor to Achilles.

ing them. When the king ſaw this, he advanced nearer the city; and finding it would be impoſſible for him to force the port which lay towards Sidon, becauſe of the great narrowneſs of the entrance, and its being defended by a large number of gallies, all whoſe prows were turned towards the main ocean, he only ſunk three of them which lay without, and afterwards came to an anchor with his whole fleet, pretty near the bank, along the ſhore, where his ſhips rode in ſafety.

Whilſt all theſe things were doing, the new bank was carried on with great vigour. The workmen threw into the ſea whole trees with all their branches on them; and laid great ſtones over theſe, on which they put other trees, and the latter they covered with clay, which ſerved inſtead of mortar. Afterwards heaping more trees and ſtones on theſe, the whole thus joined together, formed one entire body. This bank was made wider than the former ones, in order that the towers that were built in the middle might be out of the reach of ſuch arrows as ſhould be ſhot from thoſe ſhips which might attempt to break down the edges of the bank. The beſieged, on the other ſide, exerted themſelves with extraordinary bravery, and did all that lay in their power to ſtop the progreſs of the work. But nothing was of ſo much ſervice to them as their divers, who ſwimming under water, came unperceived quite up to the bank, and with hooks drew ſuch branches to them as projected beyond the work; and pulling forward with great ſtrength, forced away every thing that was over them. This was one *remora* to the carrying on of the work: however, after many delays, the patience of the workmen ſurmounting every obſtacle, it was at laſt finiſhed in its utmoſt perfection. The Macedonians placed military engines of all kinds on the bank, in order to ſhake the walls with battering rams, and hurl on the beſiegers arrows, ſtones, and burning torches.

At the ſame time Alexander ordered the Cyprian fleet, commanded by Andromachus, to take its ſtation before the harbour which lay towards Sidon; and that of Phœnicia before the harbour on the other ſide of the bank facing Egypt; towards that part where his own tent was pitched; and enabled himſelf to attack the city on every ſide. The Tyrians, in their turn, prepared for a vigorous defence. On that ſide which lay towards the bank, they had erected towers on the wall,

which was of a prodigious height, and of a proportionable breadth, the whole built with great ſtones cemented together with mortar. The acceſs to any other part was very near as difficult, the enemy having fenced the foot of the wall with great ſtones, to keep the Greeks from approaching it. The buſineſs then was, firſt to draw theſe away, which could not be done but with the utmoſt difficulty, becauſe, as the ſoldiers ſtood in ſhips, they could not keep very firm on their legs. Beſides, the Tyrians advanced with covered gallies, and cut the cabels which held the ſhips at anchor; ſo that Alexander was obliged to cover, in like manner, ſeveral veſſels of thirty rowers each, and to ſtation theſe croſs-wiſe, to ſecure the anchors from the attacks of the Tyrian gallies. But ſtill, divers came and cut them unperceived, ſo that they were at laſt forced to fix them with iron chains. After this, they drew theſe ſtones with cable-ropes, and carrying them off with engines, they were thrown to the bottom of the ſea, where it was not poſſible for them to do any further miſchief. The foot of the wall being thus cleared, the veſſels had very eaſy acceſs to it. In this manner the Tyrians were inveſted on all ſides, and attacked at the ſame time both by ſea and land.

The Macedonians had joined (two and two) gallies, with four men chained to each oar, in ſuch a manner, that the prows were faſtened, and the ſterns ſo far diſtant one from the other, as was neceſſary for the pieces of timber between them to be of a proper length. After this they threw from one ſtern to the other ſail-yards, which were faſtened together by planks laid croſs-wiſe, in order for the ſoldiers to ſtand faſt on the ſpace. The gallies being thus equipped, they rowed towards the city, and ſhot (under covert) againſt thoſe who defended the walls, the prows ſerving them as ſo many parapets. The king cauſed them to advance about midnight, in order to ſurround the walls, and make a general aſſault. The Tyrians now gave themſelves for loſt, when on a ſudden the ſky was overſpread with ſuch thick clouds, as quite took away the faint glimmerings of light which before darted through the gloom. The ſea riſes by inſenſible degrees; and the billows being ſwelled by the fury of the winds, riſe to a dreadful ſtorm. The veſſels daſh one againſt the other with ſo much violence, that the cables, which before faſtened them together, are either looſened, or break to pieces; the planks ſplit, and,

making a horrible craſh, carry off the ſoldiers with them; for the tempeſt was ſo furious, that it was not poſſible to manage or ſteer gallies thus faſtened together. The ſoldier was a hindrance to the ſailor, and the ſailor to the ſoldier; and, as happens on ſuch occaſions, thoſe obeyed whoſe buſineſs it was to command; fear and anxiety throwing all things into confuſion. But now the rowers exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour, that they got the better of the ſea, and ſeemed to tear their ſhips out of the waves. At laſt they brought them near the ſhore, but the greateſt part in a ſhattered condition.

At the ſame time there arrived at Tyre thirty ambaſſadors from Carthage, who did not bring the leaſt ſuccours, though they had promiſed ſuch mighty things. Inſtead of this, they only made excuſes, declaring that it was with the greateſt grief the Carthaginians found themſelves abſolutely unable to aſſiſt the Tyrians in any manner; for that they themſelves were engaged in a war, not as * before for empire, but to ſave their country. And indeed the Syracuſans were laying waſte all Africa at that time with a powerful army, and had pitched their camp not far from the walls of Carthage. The Tyrians, though fruſtrated in this manner of the great hopes they had conceived, were no ways dejected. They only took the wiſe precautions to ſend moſt of their women and children to Carthage, in order that they themſelves might be in a condition to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity, and bear more courageouſly the greateſt calamities which might befall them, when they had once lodged, in a ſecure aſylum, what they moſt valued in the world.

There was in the city a brazen ſtatue of Apollo, of an enormous ſize. This Coloſſus had formerly ſtood in the city of Gela in Sicily. [i] The Carthaginians having taken it about the year 412 before Chriſt, had given it by way of preſent, to the city of Tyre, which they always conſidered as the mother of Carthage. The Tyrians had ſet it up in their city, and worſhip was paid to it. During the ſiege, on a dream which one of the citizens had, the Tyrians imagined that Apollo was determined to leave them, and go over to Alexander. Immediately they faſtened with a gold chain his ſtatue to Hercules's

[i] Diod. l. xiii. p. 226.

* See vol. I. in the hiſtory of Carthage.

altar, to prevent the deity in queſtion from leaving them. For theſe people were ſilly enough to believe, that after his ſtatue was thus faſtened down, it would not be poſſible for him to make his eſcape; and that he would be prevented from doing ſo by Hercules, the tutelar god of the city. What a ſtrange idea the heathens had of their divinities!

Some of the Tyrians propoſed the reſtoring of a ſacrifice which had been diſcontinued for many ages; and this was, to ſacrifice a child born of free parents to Saturn. The Carthaginians, who had borrowed this ſacrilegious cuſtom from their founders, preſerved it till the deſtruction of their city; and had not the old men, who were inveſted with the greateſt authority in Tyre, oppoſed this cruelly-ſuperſtitious cuſtom, a child would have been butchered on this occaſion.

The Tyrians, finding their city expoſed every moment to be taken by ſtorm, reſolved to fall upon the Cyprian fleet, which lay at anchor off Sidon. They took the opportunity to do this at a time when the ſeamen of Alexander's fleet were diſperſed up and down; and that he himſelf was withdrawn to his tent, pitched on the ſea-ſhore. Accordingly, they came out, about noon, with thirteen gallies, all manned with choice ſoldiers who were uſed to ſea-fights; and rowing with all their might, came thundering on the enemy's veſſels. Part of them they found empty, and the reſt had been manned in great haſte. Some of theſe they ſunk, and drove ſeveral of them againſt the ſhores, where they daſhed to pieces. The loſs would have been ſtill greater, had not Alexander, the inſtant he heard of this ſally, advanced at the head of his whole fleet with all imaginable diſpatch againſt the Tyrians. However, theſe did not wait their coming up, but withdrew into the harbour, after having alſo loſt ſome of their ſhips.

And now the engines playing, the city was warmly attacked on all ſides, and as vigorouſly defended. The beſieged, taught and animated by imminent danger, and the extreme neceſſity to which they were reduced, invented daily new arts to defend themſelves, and repulſe the enemy. They warded off all the darts diſcharged from the baliſtas againſt them by the aſſiſtance of turning wheels, which either broke them to pieces, or carried them another way. They deadened the violence of the ſtones that were hurled at them, by ſetting up a kind of ſails and curtains made of a ſoft ſubſtance, which

eaſily gave way. To annoy the ſhips which advanced againſt their walls, they fixed grappling-irons and ſcythes to joiſts or beams; then ſtraining their catapultas (an enormous kind of croſs-bows) they laid thoſe great pieces of timber upon them inſtead of arrows, and ſhot them off on a ſudden at the enemy. Theſe cruſhed ſome to pieces by their great weight; and the hooks or penſile ſcythes, with which they were armed, tore others to pieces, and did conſiderable damage to their ſhips. They alſo had brazen ſhields, which they drew red-hot out of the fire; and, filling theſe with burning-ſand, hurled them in an inſtant from the top of the wall upon the enemy. There was nothing the Macedonians ſo much dreaded as this laſt invention, for, the moment this burning ſand got to the fleſh, through the crevices in the armour, it pierced to the very bone, and ſtuck ſo cloſe, that there was no pulling it off; ſo that the ſoldiers throwing down their arms, and tearing their clothes to pieces, were in this manner expoſed, naked and defenceleſs, to the ſhot of the enemy.

It was then Alexander, diſcouraged at ſo vigorous a defence, debated ſeriouſly, whether it would not be proper for him to raiſe the ſiege, and go for Egypt: for, after having over-run Aſia with prodigious rapidity, he found his progreſs unhappily retarded; and loſt, before a ſingle city, the opportunity of executing a great many projects of infinitely greater importance. On the other ſide, he conſidered that it would be a great blemiſh to his reputation, which had done him greater ſervice than his arms, ſhould he leave Tyre behind him, and thereby prove to the world, that he was not invincible. He therefore reſolved to make a laſt effort with a great number of ſhips, which he manned with the flower of his army. Accordingly, a ſecond naval engagement was fought, in which the Tyrians, after fighting with intrepidity, were obliged to draw off their whole fleet towards the city. The king purſued their rear very cloſe, but was not able to enter the harbour, being repulſed by arrows ſhot from the walls: however, he either took or ſunk a great number of their ſhips.

Alexander, after letting his forces repoſe themſelves two days, advanced his fleet and his engines, in order to attempt a general aſſault. Both the attack and defence were now more vigorous than ever. The courage of the combatants increaſed

with the danger; and each ſide, animated by the moſt powerful motives, fought like lions. Wherever the battering-rams had beat down any part of the wall, and the bridges were thrown out, inſtantly the Argyraſpides mounted the breach with the utmoſt valour, being headed by Admetus, one of the braveſt officers in the army, who was killed by the thruſt of a * partiſan, as he was encouraging his ſoldiers. The preſence of the king, and eſpecially the example he ſet, fired his troops with unuſual bravery. He himſelf aſcended one of the towers, which was of a prodigious height, and there was expoſed to the greateſt danger his courage had ever made him hazard; for, being immediately known by his *inſignia* and the richneſs of his armour, he ſerved as a mark for all the arrows of the enemy. On this occaſion he performed wonders; killing, with javelins, ſeveral of thoſe who defended the wall; then advancing nearer to them, he forced ſome with his ſword, and others with his ſhield, either into the city or the ſea; the tower where he fought almoſt touching the wall. He ſoon went over it, by the aſſiſtance of floating bridges, and followed by the nobility, poſſeſſed himſelf of two towers, and the ſpace between them. The battering-rams had already made ſeveral breaches; the fleet had forced into the harbour; and ſome of the Macedonians had poſſeſſed themſelves of the towers which were abandoned. The Tyrians, ſeeing the enemy maſter of their rampart, retired towards an open place, called Agenor, and there ſtood their ground; but Alexander marching up with his regiment of body-guards, killed part of them, and obliged the reſt to fly. At the ſame time, Tyre being taken on that ſide which lay towards the harbour, the Macedonians ran up and down every part of the city, ſparing no perſon who came in their way, being highly exaſperated at the long reſiſtance of the beſieged, and the barbarities they had exerciſed towards ſome of their comrades who had been taken in their return to Sidon, and thrown from the battlements, after their throats had been cut in the ſight of the whole army.

The Tyrians, ſeeing themſelves overpowered on all ſides, ſome fly to the temples, to implore the aſſiſtance of the gods; others, ſhutting themſelves in their houſes, eſcape the ſword of the conqueror, by a voluntary death; in fine, others ruſh

* A kind of halbert.

upon the enemy, firmly reſolved to ſell their lives at the deareſt rate. Moſt of the citizens were got on the houſe-tops, whence they threw ſtones, and whatever came firſt to hand, upon ſuch as advanced forward into the city. The king gave orders for killing all the inhabitants (thoſe excepted who had ſheltered themſelves in the temples) and to ſet fire to every part of Tyre. Although this order was publiſhed by ſound of trumpet, yet not one perſon who carried arms flew to the aſylums. The temples were filled with ſuch old men and children only as had remained in the city. The old men waited at the doors of their houſes, in expectation every inſtant of being ſacrificed to the rage of the ſoldiers. It is true, indeed, that the Sidonian ſoldiers, who were in Alexander's camp, ſaved great numbers of them. For, having entered the city indiſcriminately with the conquerors, and calling to mind their ancient affinity with the Tyrians (Agenor having founded both Tyre and Sidon) they, for that reaſon, carried off great numbers privately on board their ſhips, and conveyed them to Sidon. By this kind deceit fifteen thouſand were ſaved from the rage of the conqueror; and we may judge of the greatneſs of the ſlaughter, from the number of the ſoldiers who were cut to pieces on the rampart of the city only, who amounted to ſix thouſand. However, the king's anger not being fully appeaſed, he exhibited a ſcene, which appeared dreadful even to the conquerors; for two thouſand men remaining after the ſoldiers had been glutted with ſlaughter, Alexander cauſed them to be fixed upon croſſes along the ſea-ſhore. He pardoned the ambaſſadors of Carthage, who were come to their metropolis, to offer up a ſacrifice to Hercules, according to annual cuſtom. The number of priſoners, both foreigners and citizens, amounted to thirty thouſand, who were all ſold. As for the Macedonians, their loſs was very inconſiderable.

A. M. 3672. Ant. J. C. 332.

Alexander himſelf ſacrificed to Hercules, and conducted the ceremony with all his land-forces under arms, in concert with the fleet. He alſo ſolemnized gymnaſtick exerciſes in honour of the ſame god, in the temple dedicated to him. With regard to the ſtatue of Apollo, above-mentioned, he took off the chains from it, reſtored it to its former liberty, and commanded that this god ſhould thenceforwards be ſurnamed *Philalexander*, that is, the friend of Alexander. If we

may believe Timæus, the Greeks began to pay him this ſolemn worſhip, for having occaſioned the taking of Tyre, which happened the day and hour that the Carthaginians had carried off this ſtatue from Gela. The city of Tyre was taken about the end of September, after having ſuſtained a ſeven months' ſiege.

Thus were accompliſhed the menaces which God had pronounced by the mouth of his prophets againſt the city of Tyre. * Nabuchodonoſor had begun to execute thoſe threats, by beſieging and taking it; and they were completed by the ſad cataſtrophe we have here deſcribed. As this double event forms one of the moſt conſiderable paſſages in hiſtory, and that the ſcriptures have given us ſeveral very remarkable circumſtances of it, I ſhall endeavour to unite here, in one view, all that they relate concerning the city of Tyre, its power, riches, haughtineſs, and irreligion; the different puniſhments with which God chaſtiſed its pride and other vices; in fine, its laſt re-eſtabliſhment, but in a manner entirely different from that of others. Methinks I revive on a ſudden, when, through the multitude of profane hiſtories which heathen antiquity furniſhes, and in every part whereof there reigns an entire oblivion, not to ſay more, of the Almighty, the ſacred ſcriptures exhibit themſelves, and unfold to me the ſecret deſigns of God over kingdoms and empires; and teach me what idea we are to form of thoſe things which appear the moſt worthy of eſteem, the moſt auguſt in the eyes of men.

But before I relate the prophecies concerning Tyre, I ſhall here preſent the reader with a little extract of the hiſtory of that famous city, by which he will be the better enabled to underſtand the prophecies.

[k] Tyre was built by the Sidonians, two hundred and forty years before the building of the temple of Jeruſalem: for this reaſon it is called by Iſaiah, "The daughter of Sidon." It ſoon ſurpaſſed its mother-city in extent, power and riches. A. M. 2992. Ant. J. C. 1712.

[l] It was beſieged by Salmanaſar, and alone reſiſted the united fleets of the Aſſyrians and Phœnicians; a circumſtance which greatly heightened its pride. A. M. 3285. Ant. J. C. 719.

[m] Nabuchodonoſor laid ſiege to Tyre, at the time that Itho- A. M. 3432. Ant. J. C. 572.

[k] Joſeph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 3. [l] Ibid. l. ix. c. 14. [m] Ibid. l. x. c. 11.

* Or Nebuchadnezzar, as he is called in our verſion.

balus was king of that city; but did not take it till thirteen years after. But before it was conquered, the inhabitants had retired, with moſt of their effects, into a neighbouring iſland, where they built a new city. The old one was razed to the very foundations, and has ſince been no more than a village, known by the name of "Palæ-Tyrus," or Ancient Tyre: but the new one roſe to greater power than ever.

It was in this great and flouriſhing condition, when Alexander beſieged and took it. And here begins the ſeventy years' obſcurity and oblivion, in which it was to lie, according to Iſaiah. It was indeed ſoon repaired, becauſe the Sidonians, who entered the city with Alexander's army, ſaved fifteen thouſand of their citizens (as was before obſerved) who, after their return, applied themſelves to traffic, and repaired the ruins of their country with incredible application; beſides which, the women and children, who had been ſent to Carthage, and lodged in a place of ſafety, returned to it at the ſame time. But Tyre was confined to the iſland in which it ſtood. Its trade extended no farther than the neighbouring cities, and it had loſt the empire of the ſea. And when, eighteen years after, Antigonus beſieged it with a ſtrong fleet, we do not find that the Tyrians had any maritime forces to oppoſe him. This ſecond ſiege, which reduced it a ſecond time to captivity, plunged it into the ſtate of oblivion from which it endeavoured to extricate itſelf; and this oblivion continued the exact time foretold by Iſaiah.

This term of years being expired, Tyre recovered its former credit; and, at the ſame time, reſumed its former vices; till at laſt, converted by the preaching of the goſpel, it became a holy and religious city. The ſacred writings acquaint us with part of theſe revolutions, and this is what we are now to ſhow.

[n] Tyre, before the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, was conſidered as one of the moſt ancient and flouriſhing cities of the world. Its induſtry and very advantageous ſituation had raiſed it to the ſovereignty of the ſeas, and made it the centre of all the trade in the univerſe. From the extreme parts of Arabia, Perſia, and India, to the moſt remote weſtern coaſts; from Scythia, and the northern countries, to Egypt, Ethiopia.

[n] Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii. throughout. Ezek. xxviii. 4—25.

and the ſouthern countries; all nations contributed to the increaſe of its riches, ſplendour, and power. Not only the ſeveral things uſeful and neceſſary to ſociety, which thoſe various regions produced; but whatever they had of a rare, curious, magnificent, or precious kind, and beſt adapted to the ſupport of luxury and pride; all theſe, I ſay, were brought to its markets. And Tyre, on the other ſide, as from a common ſource, diſperſed this varied abundance over all kingdoms, and infected them with its corrupt manners, by inſpiring mankind with a love for eaſe, vanity, luxury, and voluptuouſneſs.

[o] A long, uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities had ſwelled the pride of Tyre. She delighted to conſider herſelf as the queen of cities; a queen whoſe head is adorned with a diadem; whoſe correſpondents are illuſtrious princes; whoſe rich traders diſpute for ſuperiority with kings: who ſees every maritime power, either as her allies or dependents; and who made herſelf neceſſary or formidable to all nations.

Tyre had now filled up the meaſure of her iniquity, by her impiety againſt God, and her barbarity exerciſed againſt his people. She had rejoiced over the ruins of Jeruſalem, in the inſulting words following. [p] "Behold then the gates of this ſo populous city are broken down. Her inhabitants ſhall come to me, and I will enrich myſelf with her ſpoils, now ſhe is laid waſte." [q] She was not ſatisfied with having reduced the Jews to a ſtate of captivity, notwithſtanding the alliance between them; with ſelling them to the Gentiles, and delivering them up to their moſt cruel enemies: [r] She likewiſe had ſeiſed upon the inheritance of the Lord, and carried away from his temple the moſt precious things, to enrich therewith the temples of her idols.

[s] This profanation and cruelty drew down the vengeance of God upon Tyre. God is reſolved to deſtroy her, becauſe ſhe relied ſo much upon her own ſtrength, her wiſdom, her riches, and her alliances. He therefore brought againſt her Nabuchodonoſor, that king of kings, to overflow her with his mighty hoſts, as with waters that overſpread their banks, in order to demoliſh her ramparts, to ruin her proud palaces, to

[o] Ezek. xxvi. 17. xxvii. 3, 4. 25—32, 33. [p] Ezek. xxvii. 2. [q] Joel iii. 2—8. Amos i. 9, 10. [r] Joel iii. 2. 4. 7. Amos i. 9, 10. [s] Jerem. xlvii. 2. 6. Ezek. xxvi. 3—12, and 19. xxvi. 27. 34.

deliver up her merchandiſes and treaſures to the ſoldier, and to raze Tyre to the very foundations, after having ſet fire to it, and either extirpated or diſperſed all its inhabitants.

[t] By this ſo unexpected a fall, the Almighty will teach the aſtoniſhed nations, that he more evidently diſplays his providence by the moſt incredible revolutions of ſtates; and that his will only directs the enterpriſes of men, and guides them as he pleaſes, in order to humble the proud.

But Tyre, after ſhe had recovered her loſſes, and repaired her ruins, forgot her former ſtate of humiliation, and the guilt which had reduced her to it. [u] She ſtill was puffed up with the glory of poſſeſſing the empire of the ſea; of being the ſeat of univerſal commerce; of giving birth to the moſt famous colonies; of having within her walls merchants, whoſe credit, riches, and ſplendour, equalled them to the princes and great men of the earth; [x] of being governed by a monarch, who might juſtly be entitled god of the ſea; of tracing back her origin to the moſt remote antiquity; of having acquired, by a long ſeries of ages, a kind of eternity; and of having a right to promiſe herſelf another ſuch eternity in times to come.

[y] But ſince this city, corrupted by pride, by avarice and luxury, has not profited by the firſt leſſon which God had given her, in the perſon of the king of Babylon; and that, after being oppreſſed by all the forces of the Eaſt, ſhe ſtill would not learn to confide any longer in the falſe and imaginary ſupports of her own greatneſs: [z] God foretels her another chaſtiſement, which he will ſend upon her from the Weſt, near 400 years after the firſt. [a] Her deſtruction will come from Chittim, that is, Macedonia; from a kingdom ſo weak and obſcure, that it had been deſpiſed a few years before; a kingdom whence ſhe could never have expected ſuch a blow. "Tyre, poſſeſſed with an opinion of her own wiſdom, and proud *of her fleets*, of her immenſe riches, which ſhe heaped up as mire in the ſtreets," and alſo protected by the whole power of the Perſian empire, does not imagine ſhe has any thing to fear from thoſe new enemies, who being ſituated at a great diſtance from her, without either money, ſtrength, or reputation; having neither harbours nor ſhips, and being quite unſkilled in navigation;

[t] Ezek. xxvi. 15. 18. and xxvii. 33. 36. Iſa. xxiii. 8, 9. [u] Iſa. xxiii. 3, 4. 7, 8. 12. [x] Ezek. xxviii. 2. [y] Iſa. xxiii. 13. [z] Ibid. xxiii. 11, 12, 13. [a] 1 Maccab. i. 1. Zech. ix. 2. 5.

cannot therefore, as ſhe imagines, annoy her with their land forces. [b] Tyre looks upon herſelf as impregnable, becauſe ſhe is defended by lofty fortifications, and ſurrounded on all ſides by the ſea as with a moat and a girdle: nevertheleſs Alexander, by filling up the arm of the ſea which ſeparates her from the continent, will force off her girdle, and demoliſh thoſe ramparts which ſerved her as a ſecond encloſure.

Tyre, thus diſpoſſeſſed of her dignity as queen and as a free city, boaſting no more her diadem nor her girdle, will be reduced, during ſeventy years, to the mean condition of a ſlave. [c] "The Lord hath purpoſed it, to ſtain the pride of all glory, and to bring into contempt all the honourable of the earth." [d] Her fall will drag after it the ruin of trade in general, and ſhe will prove to all cities a ſubject of ſorrow and groans, by making them loſe the preſent means and the future hopes of enriching themſelves.

[e] To prove, in a ſenſible manner, to Tyre, that the prophecy concerning her ruin, is not incredible, and that all the ſtrength and wiſdom of man can no ways ward off or ſuſpend the puniſhment which God has prepared for the pride and the abuſe of riches, Iſaiah ſets before her the example of Babylon, whoſe deſtruction ought to have been an example to her. * This city, in which Nimrod laid the foundations of his empire, was the moſt ancient, the moſt populous, and embelliſhed with more edifices, both public and private, than any other city. She was the capital of the firſt empire that ever exiſted, and was founded, in order to command over the whole earth, which ſeemed to be inhabited only by families, which ſhe had brought forth and ſent out as ſo many colonies, whoſe common parent ſhe was. Nevertheleſs, ſays the prophet, ſhe is no more, neither Babylon nor her empire. The citizens of Babylon had multiplied their ramparts and citadels, to render even the beſieging it impracticable. The inhabitants had raiſed pompous palaces, to make their names immortal; but

[b] Iſa. xxiii. 10, 11. 13. [c] Ibid. ver. 9. [d] Ibid. ver. 1. 11. 14. [e] Ibid. ver. 13, 14.

* Behold the land of the Chaldeans; this people was not till the Aſſyrians founded it for them that dwell in the wilderneſs: They ſet up the towers thereof, they raiſed up the palaces thereof, and he brought it to ruin. Howl, ye ſhips of Tarſhiſh: For your ſtrength is laid waſte, Iſa. xxiii. 13, 14.

all theſe fortifications were but as ſo many dens, in the eyes of Providence, for wild beaſts to dwell in; and theſe edifices were doomed to fall to duſt, or elſe to ſink to humble cottages.

After ſo ſignal an example, continues the prophet, ſhall Tyre, which is ſo much inferior to Babylon in many reſpects, dare to hope that the menaces pronounced by heaven againſt her, *viz.* to deprive her of the empire of the ſea, and deſtroy her fleets, will not be fulfilled?

[f] To make her the more ſtrongly ſenſible how much ſhe has abuſed her proſperity, God will reduce her to a ſtate of humiliation and oblivion during three ſcore and ten years. [g] But after this ſeaſon of obſcurity, ſhe will again endeavour to appear with the air of an harlot, whoſe charms and artifices ſhe ſhall aſſume; ſhe will employ her utmoſt endeavours to corrupt youth, and ſooth their paſſions. To promote her commerce, ſhe will uſe fraud, deceit, and the moſt inſidious arts. She will viſit every part of the world, to collect the moſt rare and moſt delicious products of every country; to inſpire the various nations of the univerſe with a love and admiration for ſuperfluities and ſplendour, and fill them with an averſion for the ſimplicity and frugality of their ancient manners. And ſhe will ſet every engine at work, to renew her ancient treaties; to recover the confidence of her former correſpondents; and to compenſate, by a ſpeedy abundance, the ſterility of ſeventy years.

[h] Thus, in proportion as the Almighty ſhall give Tyre an opportunity of recovering her trade and credit, ſhe ſhall return to her former ſhameful traffic, which God had ruined, by ſtripping her of the great poſſeſſions ſhe had applied to ſuch pernicious uſes.

[i] But at laſt, Tyre, converted by the goſpel, ſhall no more be a ſcandal and a ſtumbling-block to nations. She ſhall no longer ſacrifice her labour to the idolatry of wealth, but to the worſhip of the Lord, and the comfort of thoſe that ſerve him. She ſhall no longer render her riches barren and uſeleſs by detaining them, but ſhall ſcatter them, like fruitful ſeed, from the hands of believers and miniſters of the goſpel.

One of God's deſigns, in the prophecies juſt now cited, is to give us a juſt idea of a traffic, whoſe only motive is

[f] Iſa. xxiii. 15. [g] Ibid. ver. 16. [h] Iſa. xxiii. 17. [i] Ibid. ver. 18.

avarice, and whoſe fruits are pleaſures, vanity, and immorality. Mankind look upon cities enriched with a commerce like that of Tyre (and it is the ſame with private perſons) as happier than any other; as worthy of envy, and as fit (from their induſtry, labour, and the ſucceſs of their applications and conduct) to be propoſed as patterns for the reſt to copy after: But God, on the contrary, exhibits them to us under the ſhameful image of a woman loſt to all ſenſe of virtue; as a woman, whoſe only view is to ſeduce and corrupt youth; who only ſooths the paſſions and flatters the ſenſes; who abhors modeſty and every ſentiment of honour; and who, baniſhing from her countenance every characteriſtic of chaſtity, glories in ignominy. We are not to infer from hence, that traffic is ſinful in itſelf; but we ſhould ſeparate from the eſſential foundation of trade, which is juſt and lawful when rightly uſed, the paſſions of men which intermix with, and by that means pervert the order and end of it. Tyre, converted to Chriſtianity, teaches merchants in what manner they are to carry on their traffic, and the uſes to which they ought to apply their profits.

SECT. VII. *Darius writes a ſecond letter to Alexander. Journey of the latter to Jeruſalem. The honour he pays to Jaddus the high-prieſt. He is ſhewn thoſe prophecies of Daniel which relate to himſelf. The king grants great privileges to the Jews, but refuſes them to the Samaritans. He beſieges and takes Gaza, enters Egypt, and ſubdues that country. He there lays the foundations of Alexandria, then goes into Lybia, where he viſits the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and cauſes himſelf to be declared the ſon of that god. His return into Egypt.*

WHILST [k] Alexander was carrying on the ſiege of Tyre, he had received a ſecond letter from Darius, who at laſt gave him the title of king. "He offered him ten thou-"ſand talents (thirty millions) as a ranſom for the captive prin-"ceſſes, and his daughter Statira in marriage, with all the "country he had conquered as far as the Euphrates. Darius

[k] Plut. in Alex. p. 681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 5. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101.

" hinted to him the inconſtancy of fortune; and deſcribed, in " the moſt pompous terms, the numberleſs troops who were " ſtill under his command. Could he (Alexander) think, that " it was ſo very eaſy to croſs the Euphrates, the Tygris, the " Araxes, and the Hydaſpes, which were as ſo many bulwarks " to the Perſian empire? That he ſhould not be always ſhut up " between rocks and paſſes: That they ought both to appear in " a plain, and that then Alexander would be aſhamed to come " before him with only a handful of men." The king hereupon ſummoned a council, in which Parmenio was of opinion, that he ought to accept of thoſe offers, declaring he himſelf would agree to them, were he Alexander. " And ſo would I," replied Alexander, " were I Parmenio." He therefore returned the following anſwer: " That he did not want the " money Darius offered him: That it did not become Darius " to offer a thing he no longer poſſeſſed, or to pretend to diſ- " tribute what he had entirely loſt. That in caſe he was the " only perſon who did not know which of them was ſuperior, " a battle would ſoon determine it. That he ſhould not think " to intimidate with rivers, a man who had croſſed ſo many " ſeas. That to whatſoever place he might find it proper to " retire, Alexander would not fail to find him out." Darius, upon receiving this anſwer, loſt all hopes of an accommodation, and prepared again for war.

[1] From Tyre Alexander marched to Jeruſalem, firmly reſolved to ſhow it no more favour than he had done the former city; and for this reaſon. The Tyrians were ſo much employed in traffic, that they quite neglected huſbandry, and brought moſt of their corn and other proviſions from the countries in their neighbourhood. [m] Galilea, Samaria, and Judea furniſhed them with the greateſt quantities. At the ſame time that Alexander laid ſiege to their city, he himſelf was obliged to ſend for proviſions from thoſe countries: He therefore ſent commiſſaries to ſummon the inhabitants to ſubmit, and furniſh his army with whatever they might want. The Jews, however, deſired to be excuſed, alledging, that they had taken an oath of fidelity to Darius; and perſiſted in anſwering, that they would never acknowledge any other ſovereign as long as he was living: a rare example of fidelity, and worthy of the only

[1] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. [m] Acts xii. 20.

people who in that age acknowledged the true God! The Samaritans, however, did not imitate them in this particular; for they ſubmitted with chearfulneſs to Alexander, and even ſent him eight thouſand men, to ſerve at the ſiege of Tyre and in other places. For the better underſtanding of what follows, it may be neceſſary for us to preſent the reader in few words, with the ſtate of the Samaritans at that time, and the cauſe of the ſtrong antipathy between them and the Jews.

I obſerved * elſewhere, that the Samaritans did not deſcend from the Iſraelites, but were a colony of idolaters, taken from the countries on the other ſide of the Euphrates, whom Aſaraddon, king of the Aſſyrians, had ſent to inhabit the cities of Samaria, after the ruin of the kingdom of the ten tribes. Theſe people, who were called *Cuthæi*, blended the worſhip of the God of Iſrael with that of their idols; and on all occaſions diſcovered an enmity to the Jews. This hatred was much ſtronger after the return of the Jews from the Babyloniſh captivity, before and after the reſtoration of the temple.

Notwithſtanding the reformation which the holy man Nehemiah had wrought in Jeruſalem, with regard to the marrying of ſtrange or foreign women, the evil had ſpread ſo far, that the high-prieſt's houſe, which ought to have been preſerved more than any other from theſe criminal mixtures, was itſelf polluted with them. [n] One of the ſons of Jehoida the high-prieſt, whom Joſephus calls Manaſſes, had married the daughter of Sanaballat the Horonite; and many more had followed his example. But Nehemiah, zealous for the law of God which was ſo ſhamefully violated, commanded, without exception, all who had married ſtrange women, either to put them away immediately or depart the country. [o] Manaſſes choſe to go into baniſhment rather than ſeparate himſelf from his wife, and accordingly withdrew to Samaria, whither he was followed by great numbers as rebellious as himſelf; he there ſettled them under the protection of Sanaballat, his father-in-law, who was governor of that country.

The latter obtained of Darius Nothus (whom probably the war which broke out between Egypt and Perſia had forced into Phœnicia) leave to build on mount Garizim, near Samaria, a temple like that of Jeruſalem, and to appoint Manaſſes, his

[n] 2 Eſd. xiii. 28. [o] Joſeph. Antiquit.

* Vol. II. of the *Aſſyrians*.

ſon-in-law, prieſt thereof. From that time, Samaria became the aſylum of all the malcontents of Judea. And it was this raiſed the hatred of the Jews againſt the Samaritans to its greateſt height, when they ſaw that the latter, notwithſtanding the expreſs prohibition of the law, which fixed the ſolemn worſhip of the God of Iſrael in the city of Jeruſalem, had nevertheleſs raiſed altar againſt altar, and temple againſt temple, and refuged all who fled from Jeruſalem, to ſcreen themſelves from the puniſhment which would have been inflicted on them for violating the law.

Such was the ſtate of Judea, when Alexander laid ſiege to Tyre. The Samaritans, as we before obſerved, had ſent him a conſiderable body of troops; whereas the Jews thought they could not ſubmit to him, as long as Darius, to whom they had taken an oath of allegiance, ſhould be alive.

Alexander, being little uſed to ſuch an anſwer, particularly after he had obtained ſo many victories, and thinking that all things ought to bow before him, reſolved the inſtant he had conquered Tyre, to march againſt the Jews, and puniſh their diſobedience as rigorouſly as he had done that of the Tyrians.

In this imminent danger, Jaddus, the high-prieſt, who governed under the Perſians, ſeeing himſelf expoſed with all the inhabitants, to the wrath of the conqueror, had recourſe to the protection of the Almighty, gave orders for the offering up public prayers to implore his aſſiſtance, and made ſacrifices. The night after, God appeared to him in a dream, and bid him, "To cauſe flowers to be ſcattered up and down the city; "to ſet open all the gates, and go, clothed in his pontifical "robes, with all the prieſts dreſſed alſo in their veſtments, and "all the reſt clothed in white, to meet Alexander, and not to "fear any evil from that king, inaſmuch as he would protect "them." This command was punctually obeyed; and accordingly this auguſt proceſſion, the very day after, marched out of the city to an eminence called * *Sapha*, whence there was a view of all the plain, as well as of the temple and city of Jeruſalem. Here the whole proceſſion waited the arrival of Alexander.

The Syrians and Phœnicians, who were in his army, were perſuaded that the wrath of this prince was ſo great, that he

* The Hebrew word *Sapha* ſignifies to diſcover from far, as from a tower or centry-box.

would certainly puniſh the high-prieſt after an exemplary manner, and deſtroy that city in the ſame manner as he had done Tyre; and fluſhed with joy upon that account, they waited in expectation of glutting their eyes with the calamities of a people to whom they bore a mortal hatred. As ſoon as the Jews heard of the king's approach, they ſet out to meet him with all the pomp before deſcribed. Alexander was ſtruck at the ſight of the high-prieſt, in whoſe mitre and forehead a golden plate was fixed, on which the name of God was written. The moment the king perceived the high-prieſt, he advanced toward him with an air of the moſt profound reſpect; bowed his body, adored the auguſt name upon his front, and ſaluted him who wore it with a religious veneration. Then the Jews ſurrounding Alexander, raiſed their voices to wiſh him every kind of proſperity. All the ſpectators were ſeiſed with inexpreſſible ſurpriſe; they could ſcarce believe their eyes; and did not know how to account for a ſight ſo contrary to their expectation, and ſo vaſtly improbable.

Parmenio, who could not yet recover from his aſtoniſhment, aſked the king how it came to paſs that he, who was adored by every one, adored the high-prieſt of the Jews. "I "do not (replied Alexander) adore the high-prieſt, but the "God whoſe miniſter he is; for whilſt I was at Dia in Mace-"donia (my mind wholly fixed on the great deſign of the "Perſian war) as I was revolving the methods how to con-"quer Aſia, this very man, dreſſed in the ſame robes, appeared "to me in a dream; exhorted me to baniſh every fear, bid "me croſs the Helleſpont boldly; and aſſured me that God "would march at the head of my army, and give me the victory "over that of the Perſians." Alexander added, that the inſtant he ſaw this prieſt, he knew him by his habit, his ſtature, his hair, and his face, to be the ſame perſon whom he had ſeen at Dia; that he was firmly perſuaded, it was by the command, and under the immediate conduct of heaven, that he had undertaken this war; that he was ſure he ſhould overcome Darius hereafter, and deſtroy the empire of the Perſians; and that this was the reaſon why he adored this God in the perſon of his prieſt. Alexander, after having thus anſwered Parmenio, embraced the high-prieſt, and all his brethren; then walking in the midſt of them, he arrived at Jeruſalem, where

he offered ſacrifices to God, in the temple, after the manner preſcribed to him by the high-prieſt.

The high-prieſt, afterwards, ſhewed him thoſe paſſages in the prophecy of Daniel, which are ſpoken of that monarch. I ſhall here give an extract of them to ſhow how conſpicuouſly the moſt diſtant events are preſent to the Creator.

[p] God manifeſts by the prophecy of Daniel, that grandeur, empire, and glory, are his; that he beſtows them on whomſoever he pleaſes, and withdraws them, in like manner, to puniſh the abuſe of them; that his wiſdom and power ſolely determine the courſe of events in all ages; [q] that he changes, by the mere effect of his will, the whole face of human affairs; that he ſets up new kingdoms, overthrows the ancient ones, and effaces them, even to the very foot-ſteps of them, with the ſame eaſe as the wind carries off the ſmalleſt chaff from the threſhing-floor.

[r] God's deſign, in ſubjecting ſtates to ſuch aſtoniſhing revolutions, is to teach men, that they are in his preſence as nothing; that he alone is the moſt high, the eternal king, the ſovereign arbiter; who acts as he pleaſes, with ſupreme power, both in heaven and in earth. [s] For the putting this deſign in execution, the prophet ſees an auguſt council, in which the angels being appointed as ſpectators and overſeers of governments and kings, inquire into the uſe which theſe make of the authority that heaven entruſted them with, in quality of his miniſters; and when they abuſe it, theſe * ſpirits, zealous for the glory of their ſovereign, beſeech God to puniſh their injuſtice and ingratitude; and to humble their pride by caſting them from the throne, and reducing them to the moſt abject among mankind.

[t] God, to make theſe important truths ſtill more ſenſible, ſhows Daniel four dreadful beaſts who riſe from a vaſt ſea, in which the four winds combat together with fury; and under theſe ſymbols, he repreſents to the prophet the origin, the characteriſtics, and fall of the four great empires, which are to govern the whole world ſucceſſively. A dreadful, but too real image! For, empires riſe out of noiſe and confuſion: they

[p] Dan. ii. 20, 21. 37. [q] Ibid. ver. 35. [r] Ibid. iv. 32. 34, 35, 36. [s] Ibid. ver. 14. [t] Ibid. vii. 2, 3.

* It was at the deſire of theſe angels, that Nabuchodonoſor was driven from the ſociety of men to herd with wild beaſts.

ſubſiſt in blood and ſlaughter; they exerciſe their power with violence and cruelty; they think it glorious to carry terror and deſolation into all places; but yet, in ſpite of their utmoſt efforts, they are ſubject to continual viciſſitudes, and unforeſeen deſtruction.

[w] The prophet then relates more particularly the character of each of theſe empires. After having repreſented the empire of the Babylonians under the image of a lioneſs, and that of the Medes and Perſians under the form of a bear greedy of prey, he draws the picture of the Grecian monarchy, by preſenting us with ſuch of its characteriſtics, as it is more immediately known by, Under the image of a ſpotted leopard, with four heads and four wings, he ſhadows Alexander, intermixed with good and bad qualities; raſh and impetuous in his reſolutions, rapid in his conqueſts; flying with the ſwiftneſs of a bird of prey, rather than marching with the weight of an army, laden with the whole equipage of war; ſupported by the valour and capacity of his generals, four of whom, after having aſſiſted him in conquering his empire, divide it among themſelves.

[x] To this picture the prophet adds elſewhere new touches. He enumerates the order of the ſucceſſion of the kings of Perſia; he declares, in preciſe terms, that after the three firſt kings, viz. Cyrus, Cambyſes, and Darius, a fourth monarch will ariſe, who is Xerxes; and that he will exceed all his predeceſſors in power and in riches; that this prince, puffed with the idea of his own grandeur, which ſhall have roſe to its higheſt pitch, will aſſemble all the people in his boundleſs dominions, and lead them to the conqueſt of Greece. But as the prophet takes notice only of the march of this multitude, and does not tell us what ſucceſs they met with, he thereby gives us pretty clearly to underſtand, that Xerxes, a ſoft, injudicious, and fearful prince, will not have the leaſt ſucceſs in any of his projects.

[y] On the contrary, from among the Greeks in queſtion, attacked unſucceſsfully by the Perſians, there will ariſe a king of a genius and turn of mind quite different from that of Xerxes; and this is Alexander the Great. He ſhall be a bold, valiant monarch; he ſhall ſucceed in all his enterpriſes; he

[w] Dan. ver. 4, 5, 6. [x] Ibid. xi. 2. [y] Ibid. ver. 3, 4.

ſhall extend his dominion far and wide, and ſhall eſtabliſh an irreſiſtible power on the ruins of the vanquiſhed nations: But at a time when he ſhall imagine himſelf to be moſt firmly ſeated on the throne, he ſhall loſe his life, with the regal dignity, and not leave any poſterity to ſucceed him in it. This new monarchy, loſing on a ſudden the ſplendor and power for which it was ſo renowned under Alexander, ſhall divide itſelf towards the four winds of heaven. From its ruins there ſhall ariſe not only four great kingdoms, Egypt, Syria, Aſia Minor, and Macedon, but alſo ſeveral other foreigners, or Barbarians ſhall uſurp its provinces, and form kingdoms out of theſe.

[z] In fine, in the eighth chapter, the prophet completes the deſcription in ſtill ſtronger colours, the character, the battles, the ſeries of ſucceſſes, the riſe and fall of theſe two rival empires. By the image he gives of a powerful ram, having two horns of an unequal length, he declares that the firſt of theſe empires ſhall be compoſed of Perſians and Medes; that its ſtrength ſhall conſiſt in the union of theſe two nations; that the Perſians ſhall nevertheleſs exceed the Medes in authority; that they ſhall have a ſeries of conqueſts, without meeting with any oppoſition; that they ſhall firſt extend them towards the weſt, by ſubduing the Lydians, the provinces of Aſia Minor, and Thrace; that they ſhall afterwards turn their arms towards the north, in order to ſubdue part of Scythia, and the nations bordering on the Caſpian ſea; in fine, that they ſhall endeavour to enlarge their dominions towards the ſouth, by ſubjecting Egypt and Arabia; but that they ſhall not invade the nations of the eaſt.

The monarchy of the Greeks is afterwards exhibited to Daniel, under the ſymbol of a he-goat of prodigious ſize; he perceives that the Macedonian army will march from the weſt, in order to invade the empire of the Perſians; that it will be headed by a warrior famous for his power and glory; that it will take immenſe marches, in queſt of the enemy, even into the very heart of his dominions; that it ſhall advance towards this enemy with ſuch rapidity, that it will ſeem only to ſkim the ground; that it will give this empire its mortal wound; entirely ſubvert it by repeated victories, and deſtroy the double power of the Perſians and Medes; during which not one

z Dan. viii.

monarch, whether its ally or neighbour, ſhall give it the leaſt ſuccour.

But as ſoon as this monarchy ſhall have roſe to its greateſt height, Alexander, who formed its greateſt ſtrength, ſhall be ſnatched from it; and then there will ariſe, towards the four parts of the world, four Grecian monarchies, which, though vaſtly inferior to that of Alexander, will, however, be very conſiderable.

Can any thing be more wonderful, more divine, than a ſeries of propheſies, all of them ſo clear, ſo exact, and ſo circumſtantial; prophecies, which go ſo far as to point out, that a prince ſhall die without leaving a ſingle ſucceſſor from among his own family, and that four of his generals will divide his empire between them? But we muſt peruſe theſe propheſies in the ſcriptures themſelves. The vulgate agrees, a few places excepted, pretty nearly with the Hebrew, which I ſhall tranſlate * agreeable to the original text.

[a] "In the third year of the reign of king Belſhazzar, a viſion appeared unto me, even unto me Daniel, after that which appeared unto me at the firſt. And I ſaw in a viſion (and it came to paſs when I ſaw, that I was at Shuſhan in the palace, which is in the province of Elam) and I ſaw in a viſion, and I was by the river of Ulai. Then I lifted up mine eyes, and ſaw, and behold there ſtood before the river a RAM, which had two horns, and the two horns were high: but one was higher than the other, and the higher came up laſt. I ſaw the ram puſhing weſtward, and northward, and ſouthward: So that no beaſts might ſtand before him, neither was there any that could deliver out of his hand, but he did according to his will, and became great. And as I was conſidering, behold an he-goat came from the weſt, on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground; and the goat had a notable horn between his eyes. And he came to the ram that had two horns, which I had ſeen ſtanding before the river, and ran unto him in the fury of his power. And I ſaw him come cloſe unto the ram, and he was moved with choler againſt him, and ſmote the ram, and brake his two horns, and there was no power in the ram to ſtand before him, but he caſt him down to the

[a] Dan. viii. 1—8.

* We have not followed Mr. Rollin's tranſlation here, believing it more proper to make uſe of our own verſion of the Bible.

ground, and ſtamped upon him: and there was none that could deliver the ram out of his hand. Therefore the he-goat waxed very great, and when he was ſtrong, the great horn was broken; and from it came out four notable ones towards the four winds of heaven."

A great number of very important reflections might be made on the propheſies I have now repeated: But theſe I ſhall leave to the reader's underſtanding and religion, and will make but one remark; on which however I ſhall not expatiate ſo much as the ſubject might deſerve.

The Almighty preſides in general over all events which happen in the world: and rules, with abſolute ſway, the fate of all men in particular, of all cities, and of all empires; but then he conceals the operations of his wiſdom, and the wonders of his providence, beneath the veil of natural cauſes and ordinary events. All that profane hiſtory exhibits to us, whether ſieges, or the conqueſts of cities; battles won or loſt, empires eſtabliſhed or overthrown; in all theſe, I ſay, there appears nothing but what is human and natural: God ſeems to have no concern in theſe things, and we ſhould be tempted to believe that he abandons men entirely to their views, their talents, and their paſſions; if we, perhaps, except the Jewiſh nation, whom he conſidered as his own peculiar people.

To prevent our falling into a temptation ſo repugnant to religion and even reaſon itſelf, God breaks at every interval his ſilence, diſperſes the clouds which hide him, and condeſcends to diſcover to us the ſecret ſprings of his providence, by cauſing his prophets to foretel, a long ſeries of years before the event, the fate he has prepared for the different nations of the earth. He reveals to Daniel the order, the ſucceſſion, and the different characteriſtics of the four great empires, to which he is determined to ſubject all the nations of the univerſe, *viz.* that of the Babylonians, of the Perſians and Medes, of the Greeks, and, laſtly, that of the Romans.

It is in the ſame view that he inſiſts, very ſtrongly, on the two moſt famous conquerors that ever exiſted; I mean, Cyrus and Alexander, the one founder, the other deſtroyer, of the powerful empire of Perſia. He cauſes the former to be called by his name two hundred years before his birth; prophecies, by the mouth of Iſaiah, his victories; and relates the ſeveral circumſtances of the taking of Babylon, the like of which

had never been ſeen before. On this occaſion, he points out Alexander, by the mouth of Daniel, and aſcribes ſuch qualities and characteriſtics as can agree with none but him, and which denote him as plainly as if he had been named.

Theſe paſſages of ſcripture, in which God explains himſelf clearly, ſhould be conſidered as very precious; and ſerve as ſo many keys to open to us the path to the ſecret methods by which he governs the world. Theſe faint glimmerings of light ſhould enable a rational and religious man to ſee every thing elſe clearly; and make him conclude, from what is ſaid of the four great empires of Cyrus and Alexander, of Babylon and Tyre, that we ought to acknowledge and admire, in the ſeveral events of profane hiſtory, God's perpetual care and regard for all men and all ſtates, whoſe deſtiny depends entirely on his wiſdom, his power, and his pleaſure.

We may eaſily figure to ourſelves the great joy and admiration with which Alexander was filled, upon hearing ſuch clear, ſuch circumſtantial, and advantageous promiſes. Before he left Jeruſalem, he aſſembled the Jews, and bid them aſk any favour whatſoever. They anſwered, that their requeſt was to be allowed to live according to the laws which their anceſtors had left them, and to be exempt, the ſeventh year, from their uſual tribute; and for this reaſon, becauſe they were forbid, by their laws, to ſow their fields, and conſequently could have no harveſt. Alexander granted their requeſt, and, upon the high-prieſt's beſeeching him to ſuffer the Jews, who lived in Babylonia and Meda, to live likewiſe agreeable to their own laws, he alſo indulged them in this particular with the utmoſt humanity; and ſaid further, that in caſe any of them would be willing to ſerve under his ſtandards, he would give them leave to follow their own way of worſhip, and to obſerve their reſpective cuſtoms: Upon which offer great numbers liſted themſelves.

He was ſcarce come from Jeruſalem, but the Samaritans waited upon him with great pomp and ceremony, humbly entreating him to do them alſo the honour to viſit their temple. As theſe had ſubmitted voluntarily to Alexander, and ſent him ſuccours, they imagined that they deſerved his favour much more than the Jews; and flattered themſelves that they ſhould obtain the ſame, and even much greater indulgence. It was in this view they made the pompous proceſſion above-men-

tioned, in order to invite Alexander to their city; and the eight thouſand men they had ſent to ſerve under him, joined in the requeſt made by their countrymen. Alexander thanked them courteouſly; but ſaid, that he was obliged to march into Egypt, and therefore had no time to loſe; however, that he would viſit their city at his return, in caſe he had opportunity. They then beſought him to exempt them from paying a tribute every ſeventh year; upon which Alexander aſked them, whether they were Jews? They made an ambiguous anſwer, which the king not having time to examine, he alſo ſuſpended this matter till his return, and immediately continued his march towards Gaza.

[b] Upon his arrival before that city, he found it provided with a ſtrong garriſon, commanded by Betis, one of Darius's eunuchs. This governor, who was a brave man, and very faithful to his ſovereign, defended it with great vigour againſt Alexander. As this was the only inlet or paſs into Egypt, it was abſolutely neceſſary for him to conquer it, and therefore he was obliged to beſiege it. But although every art of war was employed, notwithſtanding his ſoldiers fought with the utmoſt intrepidity, he was however forced to lie two months before it. Exaſperated at its holding out ſo long, and his receiving two wounds, he was reſolved to treat the governor, the inhabitants, and ſoldiers, with a barbarity abſolutely inexcuſable; for he cut ten thouſand men to pieces, and ſold all the reſt, with their wives and children, for ſlaves. When Betis, who had been taken priſoner in the laſt aſſault, was brought before him, Alexander, inſtead of uſing him kindly, as his valour and fidelity juſtly merited, this young monarch, who otherwiſe eſteemed bravery even in an enemy, fired on that occaſion with an inſolent joy, ſpoke thus to him: "Betis, thou ſhalt not die the death thou deſiredſt. Prepare therefore to ſuffer all thoſe torments which revenge can invent." Betis, looking upon the king with not only a firm, but an haughty air, did not make the leaſt reply to his menaces; upon which the king, more enraged than before at his diſdainful ſilence—"Obſerve," ſaid he, "I beſeech you, that dumb arrogance. Has he bended the knee? Has he ſpoke but even ſo much as

[b] Diod. l. xvii. p. 526. Arrian. l. ii. p. 101—103. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 6. Plut. in Alex. p. 679.

one ſubmiſſive word? But I will conquer this obſtinate ſilence, and will force groans from him, if I can draw nothing elſe." At laſt Alexander's * anger roſe to fury; his conduct now beginning to change with his fortune: Upon which he ordered a hole to be made through his heels, when a rope being put through them, and this being tied to a chariot, he ordered his ſoldiers to drag Betis round the city till he died. He boaſted his having imitated on this occaſion, Achilles, from whom he was deſcended; who, as Homer relates, cauſed the dead body of Hector to be dragged in the ſame manner, round the walls of Troy; † as if a man ought ever to pride himſelf for having imitated ſo ill an example. Both were very barbarous, but Alexander was much more ſo, in cauſing Betis to be dragged alive; and for no other reaſon, but becauſe he had ſerved his ſovereign with bravery and fidelity, by defending a city with which he had entruſted him; a fidelity, that ought to have been admired, and even rewarded, by an enemy, rather than puniſhed in ſo cruel a manner.

He ſent the greateſt part of the plunder he found in Gaza to Olympias, to Cleopatra his ſiſter, and to his friends. He alſo preſented Leonidas, his preceptor, with five hundred quintals, (or an hundred weight) of frankincenſe, and an hundred quintals of myrrh; calling to mind a caution Leonidas had given him when but a child, and which ſeemed, even at that time, to preſage the conqueſts this monarch had lately atchieved. For Leonidas, obſerving Alexander take up whole handfuls of incenſe at a ſacrifice, and throw it into the fire, ſaid to him: "Alexander, when you ſhall have conquered the country which produces theſe ſpices, you then may be as profuſe of incenſe as you pleaſe; but, till that day comes, be ſparing of what you have." The monarch therefore writ to Leonidas as follows: "I ſend you a large quantity of incenſe and myrrh, in order that you may no longer be ſo reſerved and ſparing in your ſacrifices to the gods."

[c] As ſoon as Alexander had ended the ſiege of Gaza, he left a garriſon there, and turned the whole power of his arms towards Egypt. In ſeven days' march he arrived before A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331.

[c] Diod. l. xvii. p. 526—529. Arrian. l. iii. p. 104—110. Plut. in Alex. p. 679—681. Quint. Curt. l. iv. c. 7, & 8. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 11.

* *Iram deinde vertit in rabiem, jam tum peregrinos vitus non a ſubeunte fortuna.* Quint. Curt. † *Decipit exemplar vitiis imitabile.* Horat.

Peluſium, whither a great number of Egyptians had aſſembled with all imaginable diligence to recogniſe him for their ſovereign.

The hatred theſe people bore to the Perſians was ſo great, that they valued very little who ſhould be their king, provided they could but meet with a hero to reſcue them from the inſolence and indignity with which themſelves, and thoſe who profeſſed their religion, were treated. For, how falſe ſoever a religion may be (and it is ſcarce poſſible to imagine one more abſurd than that of the Egyptians) ſo long as it continues to be the eſtabliſhed religion, the people will not ſuffer it to be inſulted, nothing affecting their minds ſo ſtrongly, nor firing them to a greater degree. Ochus had cauſed their god Apis to be murthered, in a manner highly injurious to themſelves and their religion; and the Perſians, to whom he had left the government, continued to make the ſame mock of that deity. Thus ſeveral circumſtances had rendered the Perſians ſo odious, that, upon Amyntas's coming a little before with a handful of men, he found them prepared to join, and aſſiſt him in expelling the Perſians.

This Amyntas had deſerted from Alexander and entered into the ſervice of Darius. He had commanded the Grecian forces at the battle of Iſſus; and having fled into Syria, by the country lying towards Tripoli, with four thouſand men, he had there ſeiſed upon as many veſſels as he wanted, burnt the reſt, and immediately ſet ſail towards the iſland of Cyprus, and afterwards towards Peluſium, which he took by ſurpriſe, upon feigning that he had been honoured with a commiſſion from Darius, appointing him governour of Egypt, in the room of Sabaces, killed in the battle of Iſſus. As ſoon as he found himſelf poſſeſſed of this important city, he threw off the maſk, and made public pretenſions to the crown of Egypt; declaring, that the motive of his coming was to expel the Perſians. Upon this a multitude of Egyptians, who wiſhed for nothing ſo earneſtly as to free themſelves from theſe inſupportable tyrants, went over to him. He then marched directly for Memphis, the capital of the kingdom; when, coming to a battle, he defeated the Perſians, and ſhut them up in the city. But, after he had gained this victory, having neglected to keep his ſoldiers together, they ſtraggled up and down in ſearch of plunder; which the enemy ſeeing, they

ſallied out upon ſuch as remained, and cut them to pieces, with Amyntas their leader.

This event, ſo far from leſſening the averſion the Egyptians had for the Perſians, increaſed it ſtill more; ſo that the moment Alexander appeared upon the frontiers, the people, who were all diſpoſed to receive that monarch, ran in crowds to ſubmit to him. His arrival, at the head of a powerful army, preſented them with a ſecure protection, which Amyntas could not afford them; and, from this conſideration, they all declared openly in his favour. Mazæus, who commanded in Memphis, finding it would be to no purpoſe for him to reſiſt ſo triumphant an army, and that Darius, his ſovereign, was not in a condition to ſuccour him; he therefore ſet open the gates of the city to the conqueror, and gave up eight hundred talents, about one hundred and forty thouſand pounds, and all the king's furniture. Thus Alexander poſſeſſed himſelf of all Egypt, without meeting with the leaſt oppoſition.

At Memphis he formed a deſign of viſiting the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. This temple was ſituated in the midſt of the ſandy deſarts of Libya, and twelve days' journey from Memphis. [c] Ham, the ſon of Noah, firſt peopled Egypt and Libya, after the flood; and when idolatry began to gain ground in the world ſome time after, he was the chief deity of theſe two countries in which his deſcendants had continued. A temple was built to his honour in the midſt of theſe deſarts, upon a ſpot of pretty good ground, about two leagues [d] broad, which formed a kind of iſland in a ſea of ſand. It is he whom the Greeks call Ζευς, *Jupiter*, * and the Egyptians *Ammon*. In proceſs of time theſe two names were joined, and he was called *Jupiter-Ammon*.

The motive of this journey, which was equally raſh and dangerous, was owing to a ridiculous vanity. Alexander, having read in Homer, and other fabulous authors of antiquity, that moſt of their heroes were repreſented as ſons of ſome deity; and, as he himſelf was deſirous of paſſing for an

[c] Plin. lib. v. c. 9. [d] Forty furlongs.

* For this reaſon the city of *Egypt*, which the ſcripture ‡ call *No-Ammon (this city of Ham)* or of *Ammon*, is called by the Greeks Διοσπολις, *or the city of Jupiter*.

‡ Jerem. xlvi. 25. Ezek. xxx. 15. Nahum iii. 8.

hero, he was determined to have ſome god for his father. Accordingly, he fixed upon Jupiter-Ammon for this purpoſe, and began by bribing the prieſts, and teaching them the part they were to act.

It would have been to no purpoſe, had any one endeavoured to divert him from a deſign, which was great in no other circumſtances than the pride and extravagance that gave birth to it. Puffed up with his victories, he had already began to aſſume, as Plutarch obſerves, that character of tenaciouſneſs and inflexibility which will do nothing but command; which cannot ſuffer advice, and much leſs bear oppoſition; which knows neither obſtacles nor dangers; which makes the beautiful to conſiſt in impoſſibility; in a word, which fancies itſelf able to force, not only enemies, but fortreſſes, ſeaſons, and the whole order of nature; the uſual effect of a long ſeries of proſperities, which ſubdues the ſtrongeſt, and makes them at length forget that they are men. We, ourſelves, have ſeen a famous * conqueror, who boaſted his treading in the ſteps of Alexander, carry further than he had ever done this kind of ſavage heroiſm; and lay it down as a maxim to himſelf, never to recede from his reſolution.

A. M. 3673. Ant. J. C. 331. Alexander therefore ſets out; but going down from the river Memphis, till he came to the ſea, he coaſts it; and, after having paſſed Canopus, he obſerves, oppoſite to the iſland of Pharos, a ſpot he thought very well ſituated for the building of a city. He himſelf drew the plan of it, and marked out the ſeveral places where the temples and public ſquares were to be erected. For the building it, he employed Dinocrates the architect, who had acquired great reputation by his rebuilding, at Epheſus, the temple of Diana, which Heroſtratus had burnt. This city he called after his own name, and it afterwards roſe to be the capital of the kingdom. As its harbour, which was very commodious, had the Mediterranean on one ſide, and the Nile and the Red-ſea in its neighbourhood, it drew all the traffic of the eaſt and weſt; and thereby became, in a very little time, one of the moſt flouriſhing cities in the univerſe.

Alexander had a journey to go of ſixteen hundred ſtadia, or fourſcore French leagues, to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon;

* Charles XII. king of Sweden.

and moſt of the way was through ſandy deſarts. The ſoldiers were patient enough for the two firſt days' march, before they arrived in the vaſt dreadful ſolitudes; but as ſoon as they found themſelves in vaſt plains, covered with ſands of a prodigious depth, they were greatly terrified. Surrounded, as with a ſea, they gazed round as far as their ſight could extend, to diſcover, if poſſible, ſome place that was inhabited; but all in vain, for they could not perceive ſo much as a ſingle tree, nor the leaſt footſteps of any land that had been cultivated. To increaſe their calamity, the water, that they had brought in goat-ſkins, upon camels, now failed; and there was not ſo much as a ſingle drop in all that ſandy deſart. They therefore were reduced to the ſad condition of dying almoſt with thirſt; not to mention the danger they were in of being buried under mountains of ſand, that are ſometimes raiſed by the winds; and which had formerly deſtroyed fifty thouſand of Cambyſes's troops. Every thing was by this time ſcorched to ſo violent a degree, and the air became ſo hot, that the men could ſcarcely breathe; when, on a ſudden, whether by chance, ſay the hiſtorians, or the immediate indulgence of heaven, the ſky was ſo completely overſpread with thick clouds, that they hid the ſun, which was a great relief to the army; though they were ſtill in prodigious want of water. But the ſtorm having diſcharged itſelf in a violent rain, every ſoldier got as much as he wanted; and ſome had ſo violent a thirſt, that they ſtood with their mouths open, and catched the rain as it fell. The judicious reader knows what judgment he is to form of theſe marvellous incidents, with which hiſtorians have thought proper to embelliſh this relation.

They were ſeveral days in croſſing theſe deſarts, and upon their arriving near the place where the oracle ſtood, they perceived a great number of ravens flying before the moſt advanced ſtandard. Theſe ravens, ſometimes, flew to the ground when the army marched ſlowly; and, at other times, advanced forward, to ſerve them as guides, till they, at laſt, came to the temple of the god. A vaſtly-ſurpriſing circumſtance is, that although this oracle be ſituated in the midſt of an almoſt boundleſs ſolitude, it nevertheleſs is ſurrounded with a grove, ſo very ſhady, that the ſun-beams can ſcarcely pierce it; not to mention that this grove or wood is watered

with ſeveral ſprings of freſh water, which preſerve it in perpetual verdure. It is related, that near this grove there is another, in the midſt of which is a fountain, called the *water*, or *fountain of the ſun*. At day-break it is luke-warm, at noon cold; but in the evening it grows warmer inſenſibly, and at midnight is boiling hot; after this, as day approaches, it decreaſes in heat, and continues this viciſſitude for ever.

The god, who is worſhipped in this temple, is not repreſented under the form which painters and ſculptors generally give to gods; for he is made of emeralds, and other precious ſtones, and from the head to the * navel, reſembles a ram. The king being come into the temple, the ſenior prieſt declared him to be the ſon of Jupiter; and aſſured, that the god himſelf beſtowed this name upon him. Alexander accepted it with joy, and acknowledged Jupiter as his father. He afterwards aſked the prieſt, whether his father Jupiter had not allotted him the empire of the whole world? To which the prieſt, who was as much a flatterer as the king was vainglorious, anſwered, that he ſhould be monarch of the univerſe. At laſt, he inquired, whether all his father's murderers had been puniſhed; but the prieſt replied, that he blaſphemed; that his father was immortal; but that with regard to the murderers of Philip, they had all been extirpated; adding, that he ſhould be invincible, and afterwards take his ſeat among the deities. Having ended his ſacrifice, he offered magnificent preſents to the god, and did not forget the prieſts, who had been ſo faithful to his intereſt.

Swelled with the ſplendid title of the ſon of Jupiter, and fancying himſelf raiſed above the human ſpecies, he returned from his journey as from a triumph. From that time, in all his letters, his orders and decrees, he always wrote in the ſtyle following: [c] ALEXANDER KING, SON OF JUPITER-AMMON: In anſwer to which, Olympias, his mother, one day made a very witty remonſtrance in few words, by deſiring him not to quarrel any longer with Juno.

Whilſt Alexander prided himſelf in theſe chimeras, and taſted the great pleaſure his vanity made him conceive from

[c] Varro apud A. Gell. l. xiii. c. 4.

* This paſſage in Quintus Curtius is pretty difficult, and is variouſly explained by interpreters.

this pompous title, every one derided him in ſecret; and ſome, who had not yet put on the yoke of abject flattery, ventured to reproach him upon that account; but they paid very dear for that liberty, as the ſequel will ſhow. Not ſatisfied with endeavouring to paſs for the ſon of a god, and of being perſuaded, in caſe this were poſſible, that he really was ſuch, he himſelf would alſo paſs for a god; till at laſt, Providence having acted that part, of which ſhe was pleaſed to make him the inſtrument, brought him to his end, and thereby levelled him with the reſt of mortals.

Alexander, upon his return from the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, being arrived at the *Palus Mereotis*, which was not far from the iſland of Pharos, made a viſit to the new city, part of which was now built. He took the beſt methods poſſible to people it, inviting thither all ſorts of perſons, to whom he offered the moſt advantageous conditions. [f] He drew to it, among others, a conſiderable number of Jews, by allowing them very great privileges; for, he not only left them the free exerciſe of their religion and laws, but put them on the ſame foot in every reſpect with the Macedonians, whom he ſettled there. From thence he went to Memphis, where he ſpent the winter.

Varro obſerves, that at the time this king built Alexandria, the uſe of *papyrus* (for writing) was found in Egypt; but this I ſhall mention elſewhere.

[g] During Alexander's ſtay in Memphis, he ſettled the affairs of Egypt, ſuffering none but Macedonians to command the troops. He divided the country into diſtricts, over each of which he appointed a lieutenant, who received orders from himſelf only; not thinking it ſafe to entruſt the general command of all the troops to one ſingle perſon, in ſo large and populous a country. With regard to the civil government, he inveſted one Doloaſpes with the whole power of it; for being deſirous that Egypt ſhould ſtill be governed by its ancient laws and cuſtoms, he was of opinion that a native of Egypt, to whom they muſt be familiar, was fitter for that office than any foreigner whatſoever.

To haſten the building of this new city, he appointed Cleomenes inſpector over it; with orders for him to levy the

[f] Joſeph. contra Appian. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 8. [g] Arrian. l. iii. p. 108—110.

tribute which Arabia was to pay. But this Cleomenes was a very wicked wretch, who abuſed his authority, and oppreſſed the people with the utmoſt barbarity.

SECT. VIII. *Alexander, after his return from Egypt, reſolves to go in purſuit of Darius. At his ſetting out, he hears of the death of that monarch's queen. He cauſes the ſeveral honours to be paid her which were due to her rank. He paſſes the Euphrates and Tygris, and comes up with Darius. The famous battle of Arbela.*

[h] ALEXANDER having ſettled the affairs of Egypt, ſet out from thence about ſpring-time, to march into the eaſt againſt Darius. In his way through Paleſtine, he heard news which gave him great uneaſineſs. At his going into Egypt, he had appointed Andromachus, whom he highly eſteemed, governor of Syria and Paleſtine. Andromachus coming to Samaria to ſettle ſome affairs in that country, the Samaritans mutinied; and ſetting fire to the houſe in which he was, burnt him alive. It is very probable, that this was occaſioned by the rage with which that people were fired, at their having been denied the ſame privileges that had been granted the Jews, their enemies. Alexander was highly exaſperated againſt them for this cruel action, and accordingly he put to death all thoſe who had any hand in it, baniſhed the reſt from the city of Samaria, ſupplying their room with a colony of Macedonians, and divided the reſt of their lands among the Jews.

He made ſome ſtay in Tyre, to ſettle the various affairs of the countries he left behind him, and advanced towards new conqueſts.

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330. He was ſcarce ſet out, but an eunuch brought word, that Darius's conſort was dead in child-bed. Hearing this, he returned back, and went into the tent of Syſigambis, whom he found bathed in tears, and lying on the ground, in the midſt of the young princeſſes, who alſo were weeping; and near them the ſon of Darius, a child, * who was the more worthy of

[h] Diod. l. xvii. p. 530—536. Arrian. l. iii. p. 111—127. Plutarch in Alex. p. 681—685. Q. Curt. l. iv. c. 9—16. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 12—14.

* *Ob id ipſum miſerabilis, quòd nondum ſentiebat calamitatem, maxima ex parte ad ipſum redundantem.* Q. CURT.

compaſſion, as he was leſs ſenſible to evils, which concerned him more than any other. Alexander conſoled them in ſo kind and tender a manner, as plainly ſhowed that he himſelf was deeply and ſincerely afflicted. He cauſed her funeral obſequies to be performed with the utmoſt ſplendour and maginficence. One of the eunuchs who ſuperintended the chamber, and who had been taken with the princeſſes, fled from the camp, and ran to Darius, whom he informed of his conſort's death. The Perſian monarch was ſeiſed with the moſt violent affliction upon hearing this news, particularly, as he ſuppoſed ſhe would not be allowed the funeral ceremonies due to her exalted rank. But the eunuch undeceived him on this occaſion, by telling him the honours which Alexander had paid his queen after her death, and the civilities he had always ſhown her in her life-time. Darius, upon hearing theſe words, was fired with ſuſpicions of ſo horrid a kind, that they did not leave him a moment's quiet.

Taking the eunuch aſide, he ſpoke to him as follows. "If "thou doſt ſtill acknowledge Darius for thy lord and ſove- "reign, tell me, by the reſpect and veneration thou oweſt "to that great ſplendour of † Mithres, which enlightens "us, and to this hand which the king ſtretcheth out to thee; "tell me, I ſay, whether, in bemoaning the death of Statira, "I do not bewail the leaſt of her evils; and whether, as "ſhe fell into the hands of a young monarch, ſhe did not "firſt loſe her honour, and afterwards her life." The eunuch, throwing himſelf at Darius's feet, beſought him not to think ſo injuriouſly of Alexander's virtue; nor diſhonour his wife and ſiſter after her death; and not deprive himſelf of the greateſt conſolation he could poſſibly have in his misfortunes, *viz.* to be firmly perſuaded, that the prince, who had triumphed over him, was ſuperior to the frailties of other men; that he ought rather to admire Alexander, as he had given the Perſian ladies much ſtronger proofs of his virtue and continence, than he had given the Perſians themſelves of his valour. After this, he confirmed all he had before ſaid, by the moſt dreadful oaths and imprecations; and then gave him a particular account of what public fame had related,

† The Perſians worſhipped the ſun under the name of *Mithres*, and the moon under that of *Mithra*.

concerning the wiſdom, temperance, and magnanimity of Alexander.

Darius returning, into the hall where his courtiers were aſſembled, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he broke into the following prayer: "Ye gods, who preſide over the birth "of men, and who diſpoſe of kings and empires, grant that, "after having raiſed the fortune of Perſia from its dejected "ſtate, I may tranſmit it to my deſcendants with the ſame "luſtre in which I received it; in order that, after having "triumphed over my enemies, I may acknowledge the "favours which Alexander has ſhown in my calamity to per-"ſons who, of all others, are moſt dear to me: or, in caſe "the time ordained by the fates is at laſt come, or that it "muſt neceſſarily happen, from the anger of the gods, or the "ordinary viciſſitudes of human affairs, that the empire of "Perſia muſt end; grant, great gods, that none but Alex-"ander may aſcend the throne of Cyrus."

In the mean time, Alexander having ſet out upon his march, arrived with his whole army at Thapſacus, where he paſſed a bridge that lay croſs the Euphrates, and continued his journey towards the Tygris, where he expected to come up with the enemy. Darius had already made overtures of peace to him twice, but finding at laſt that there was no hopes of their concluding one, unleſs he reſigned the whole empire to him, he therefore prepared himſelf again for battle. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled in Babylon an army half as numerous again as that of Iſſus, and marched it towards Nineveh: his forces covered all the plains of Meſopotamia. Advice being brought, that the enemy was not far off, he cauſed Satropates, colonel of the cavalry, to advance at the head of a thouſand choſen horſe; and likewiſe gave ſix thouſand to Mazæus, governor of the province; all whom were to prevent Alexander from croſſing the river, and to lay waſte the country through which that monarch was to paſs: but he arrived too late.

Of all the rivers of the eaſt, this is the moſt rapid; and not only a great number of rivulets mix in its waves, but thoſe alſo drag along great ſtones; ſo that it is named Tygris, by reaſon of its prodigious rapidity, an arrow being ſo called in the Perſian tongue. Alexander founded thoſe parts of the river which were fordable, and there the water, at the entrance, came up

to the horſes' bellies, and in the middle to their breaſts. Having drawn up his infantry in the form of a half moon, and poſted his cavalry on the two wings, they advanced to the current of the water with no great difficulty, carrying their arms over their heads. The king walked on foot among the infantry, and was the firſt who appeared on the oppoſite ſhore, where he pointed out with his hand the ford to the ſoldiers; it not being poſſible for him to make them hear him. But it was with the greateſt difficulty they kept themſelves above water; becauſe of the ſlipperineſs of the ſtones, and the impetuoſity of the ſtream. Such ſoldiers as not only carried their arms, but their clothes alſo, were much more fatigued; for theſe being unable to go forward, were carried into whirlpools, unleſs they threw away their burthens. At the ſame time, the great number of clothes floating up and down, beat away the burthens of ſeveral; and, as every man endeavoured to catch at his own things, they annoyed one another more than the river did. It was to no purpoſe that the king commanded them, with a loud voice, to ſave nothing but their arms; and aſſured them, that he himſelf would compenſate their other loſſes; for not one of them would liſten to his admonitions or orders, ſo great was the noiſe and tumult. At laſt, they all paſſed over that part of the ford where the water was ſhalloweſt, and the ſtream leſs impetuous, recovering however but a ſmall part of their baggage.

It is certain that this army might eaſily have been cut to pieces, had they been oppoſed by a general who dared to conquer; that is, who made ever ſo little oppoſition to their paſſage. But Mazæus, who might eaſily have defeated them, had he come up when they were croſſing the river in diſorder and confuſion, did not arrive till they were drawn up in battle array. A like good fortune had always attended this prince hitherto, both when he paſſed the Granicus in ſight of ſo prodigious a multitude of horſe and foot, who waited his coming on the ſhore; and alſo in the rocks of Cilicia, when he found the paſſes and ſtraits quite open and defenceleſs, where a ſmall number of troops might have checked his progreſs. This * circumſtauce may leſſen our ſurpriſe at that exceſs of boldneſs, which was his peculiar characteriſtic, and which

* *Audaciæ quoque, qua maximè viguit, ratio minui poteſt; quia nunquam in diſcrimen venit, an temerè feciſſet.* Q. Curt.

perpetually prompted him to attempt blindly the greateſt dangers; ſince, as he was always fortunate, he never had once room to ſuſpect himſelf guilty of raſhneſs.

The king, having encamped two days near the river, commanded his ſoldiers to be ready for marching on the morrow; but about nine or ten in the evening, the moon firſt loſt its light, and appeared afterwards quite ſullied, and, as it were, tinctured with blood. Now as this happened juſt before a great battle was going to be fought, the doubtful ſucceſs of which filled the army with ſufficient diſquietude, they were firſt ſtruck with a religious awe, and, being afterwards ſeiſed with fear, they cried out, "That heaven diſplayed the marks "of its anger; and that they were dragged againſt the will of "it, to the extremities of the earth; that rivers oppoſed their "paſſage; that the ſtars refuſed to lend their uſual light; and "that they could now ſee nothing but deſarts and ſolitudes; "that merely to ſatisfy the ambition of one man, ſo many "thouſands ſhed their blood; and that for a man who con-"temned his own country, diſowned his father, and pre-"tended to paſs for a god."

Theſe murmurs were riſing to an open inſurrection, when Alexander, whom nothing could intimidate, ſummoned the officers of the army into his tent, and commanded ſuch of the Egyptian ſoothſayers as were beſt ſkilled in the knowledge of the ſtars, to declare what they thought of this phenomenon. Theſe knew very well the natural cauſes of eclipſes of the moon; but, without entering into phyſical inquiries, they contented themſelves with ſaying, that the ſun was on the ſide of the Greeks, and the moon on that of the Perſians; and that, whenever it ſuffered an eclipſe, it always threatened the latter with ſome grievous calamity, whereof they mentioned ſeveral examples, all which they gave as true and indiſputable. Superſtition has a ſurpriſing aſcendant over the minds of the vulgar. How headſtrong and inconſtant ſoever they may be, yet if they are once ſtruck with a vain image of religion, they will ſooner obey ſoothſayers than their leaders. The anſwer made by the Egyptians being diſperſed among the ſoldiers, it revived their hopes and courage.

The king, purpoſely to take advantage of this ardour, began his march after midnight. On his right hand lay the Tygris, and on his left the mountains called *Gordyæi*. At day-break

the ſcouts whom he had ſent to view the enemy, brought word that Darius was marching towards him; upon which, he immediately drew up his forces in battle array, and ſet himſelf at their head. However, it was afterwards found, that they were only a detachment of a thouſand horſe that was going upon diſcoveries, and which ſoon retired to the main army. Nevertheleſs, news was brought the king, that Darius was now but an hundred and fifty * ſtadia from the place where they then were,

Not long before this ſome letters had been intercepted, by which Darius ſollicited the Grecian ſoldiers either to kill or betray Alexander. Nothing can reflect ſo great an odium on the memory of this prince, as an attempt of that kind; an attempt ſo abject and black, and more than once repeated. Alexander was in doubt with himſelf, whether it would be proper for him to read theſe letters in a full aſſembly, relying as much on the affection and fidelity of the Greeks, as on that of the Macedonians. But Parmenio diſſuaded him from it; declaring, that it would be dangerous even to awake ſuch thoughts in the minds of ſoldiers; that one only was ſufficient to ſtrike the blow; and that avarice was capable of attempting the moſt enormous crimes. The king followed this prudent counſel, and ordered his army to march forward.

Although Darius had twice ſued in vain for peace, and imagined that he had nothing to truſt to but his arms; nevertheleſs, being overcome by the advantageous circumſtances which had been told him concerning Alexander's tenderneſs and humility towards his family, he diſpatched ten of his chief relations, who were to offer him freſh conditions of peace more advantageous than the former; and to thank him for the kind treatment he had given his family. Darius had, in the former propoſals, given him up all the provinces as far as the river Halys; but now he added the ſeveral territories ſituated between the Helleſpont and the Euphrates, that is, all he already poſſeſſed. Alexander made the following anſwer: "Tell your ſovereign, that thanks, between perſons "who make war againſt each other, are ſuperfluous; and "that, in caſe I have behaved with clemency towards his "family, it was for my own ſake, and not for his; in conſe-"quence of my own inclination, and not to pleaſe him.

* Seven or eight leagues.

" To inſult the unhappy is a thing to me unknown. I do " not attack either priſoners or women, and turn my rage " againſt ſuch only as are armed for the fight. Did Darius " ſue for peace in a ſincere view, I then would debate on " what is to be done; but ſince he ſtill continues, by letters " and by money, to ſpirit up my ſoldiers to betray me, and my " friends to murder me, I therefore am determined to pur- " ſue him with the utmoſt vigour; and that not as an enemy, " but a poiſoner and an aſſaſſin. It, indeed, becomes him, " to offer to yield up to me what I am already poſſeſſed of! " Would he be ſatisfied with ranking himſelf as ſecond to me, " without pretending to be my equal, I might poſſibly then " hear him. Tell him, that the world will not permit two " ſuns, nor two ſovereigns. Let him therefore chooſe either " to ſurrender to-day, or fight me to-morrow, and not flatter " himſelf with the hopes of obtaining better ſucceſs than he " has hitherto had." Darius's propoſals are certainly not reaſonable; but then, is Alexander's anſwer much more ſo? in the former we behold a prince, who is not yet ſenſible of his own weakneſs, or, at leaſt, who cannot prevail with himſelf to own it; and in the latter, we ſee a monarch quite intoxicated with his good fortune, and carrying his pride to ſuch an exceſs of folly, as is not to be paralleled: " The world will not permit two ſuns, nor two ſovereigns." If this be greatneſs, and not pride, I do not know what can ever deſerve the latter name. The ambaſſadors having leave to depart, returned back, and told Darius, that he muſt now prepare for battle. The latter pitched his camp near a village called Gaugamela, and the river Bumela, in a plain at a conſiderable diſtance from Arbela. He had before levelled the ſpot which he pitched upon for the field of battle, in order that his chariots and cavalry might have full room to move in; recollecting, that his fighting in the ſtraits of Cilicia had loſt him the battle fought there. At the ſame time, he had prepared * crows feet to annoy the enemy's horſe.

Alexander, upon hearing this news, continued four days in the place he then was, to reſt his army, and ſurrounded his camp with trenches and paliſades; for he was determined to

* Crows feet is an inſtrument compoſed of iron ſpikes. Several of theſe are laid in fields through which the cavalry is to march, in order that they may run into the horſes' feet.

leave all his baggage, and the uſeleſs ſoldiers in it, and march the remainder againſt the enemy, with no other equipage than the arms they carried. Accordingly, he ſet out about nine in the evening, in order to fight Darius at day-break; who, upon this advice, had drawn up his army in order of battle. Alexander alſo marched in battle-array; for both armies were within two or three leagues of each other. When he was arrived at the mountains, where he could diſcover the enemy's whole army, he halted; and, having aſſembled his general officers, as well Macedonians as foreigners, he debated whether they ſhould engage immediately, or pitch their camp in that place. The latter opinion being followed, becauſe it was judged proper for them to view the field of battle, and the manner in which the enemy was drawn up, the army encamped in the ſame order in which it had marched; during which Alexander, at the head of his infantry, lightly armed, and his royal regiments, marched round the plain in which the battle was to be fought.

Being returned, he aſſembled his general officers a ſecond time, and told them that there was no occaſion for his making a ſpeech, becauſe their courage and great actions were alone ſufficient to excite them to glory; that he deſired them only to repreſent to the ſoldiers, that they were not to fight, on this occaſion, for Phœnicia or Egypt, but for all Aſia, which would be poſſeſſed by him who ſhould conquer; and that, after having gone through ſo many provinces, and left behind them ſo great a number of rivers and mountains, they could ſecure their retreat no otherwiſe than by gaining a complete victory. After this ſpeech, he ordered them to take ſome repoſe.

It is ſaid, that Parmenio adviſed him to attack the enemy in the night-time, alledging that they might eaſily be defeated, if fallen upon by ſurpriſe, and in the dark; but the king anſwered ſo loud, that all preſent might hear him, that it did not become Alexander to ſteal a victory, and therefore he was reſolved to fight and conquer in broad day-light. This was a haughty, but, at the ſame time, a prudent anſwer; for it was running great hazard, to fall upon ſo numerous an army in the night-time, and in an unknown country. Darius, fearing he ſhould be attacked at unawares, becauſe he had not entrenched himſelf, obliged his ſoldiers to continue the whole

night under arms, which proved of the higheſt prejudice to him in the engagement.

Alexander, who in the criſis of affairs uſed always to conſult ſoothſayers, obſerving, very exactly, whatever they enjoined, in order to obtain the favour of the gods, finding himſelf upon the point of fighting a battle, the ſucceſs of which was to give empire to the conqueror, ſent for Ariſtander, in whom he repoſed the greateſt confidence. He then ſhut himſelf up with the ſoothſayer, to make ſome ſecret ſacrifices; and afterwards offered up victims to * Fear, which he doubtleſs did to prevent his army from being ſeiſed with dread, at the ſight of the formidable army of Darius. The ſoothſayer, dreſſed in his veſtments, holding vervain, with his head veiled, firſt repeated the prayers which the king was to addreſs to Jupiter, to Minerva, and to Victory. The whole being ended, Alexander went to bed, to repoſe himſelf the remaining part of the night. As he revolved in his mind, not without ſome emotion, the conſequence of the battle, which was upon the point of being fought, he could not ſleep immediately. But his body being oppreſſed, in a manner, by the anxiety of his mind, he ſlept ſoundly the whole night, contrary to his uſual cuſtom: ſo that when his generals were aſſembled at day-break before his tent, to receive his orders, they were greatly ſurpriſed to find he was not awake; upon which, they themſelves commanded the ſoldiers to take ſome refreſhment. Parmenio having at laſt awaked him, and ſeeming ſurpriſed to find him in ſo calm and ſweet a ſleep, juſt as he was going to fight a battle, in which his whole fortune lay at ſtake: "How could it be poſſible, ſaid Alexander, for us not to be calm, ſince the enemy is coming to deliver himſelf into our hands?" Immediately he took up his arms, mounted his horſe, and rode him up and down the ranks, exhorting the troops to behave gallantly, and, if poſſible, to ſurpaſs their ancient fame, and the glory they had hitherto acquired. Soldiers, on the day of battle, imagine they ſee the fate of the engagement painted in the face of their general. As for Alexander, he had never appeared ſo calm, ſo gay, nor ſo reſolute. The ſerenity and ſecurity which they obſerved in him, were in a manner ſo many aſſurances of the victory.

* We muſt read in *Plutarch* φοβῳ inſtead of φοιβῳ.

There was a great difference between the two armies with reſpect to numbers, but much more ſo with regard to courage. That of Darius conſiſted at * leaſt of ſix hundred thouſand foot, and forty thouſand horſe; and the other of no more than forty thouſand foot, and ſeven or eight thouſand horſe: But the latter was all fire and ſtrength; whereas, on the ſide of the Perſians, it was a prodigious aſſemblage of men, not of ſoldiers; † an empty phantom rather than a real army.

Both ſides were diſpoſed in very near the ſame array. The forces were drawn up in two lines, the cavalry on the two wings, and the infantry in the middle; the one and the other being under the particular conduct of the chiefs of each of the different nations that compoſed them; and commanded in general, by the principal crown-officers. The front of the battle (under Darius) was covered with two hundred chariots, armed with ſcythes, and with fifteen elephants, that king taking his poſt in the centre of the firſt line. Beſides the guards, which were the flower of his forces, he alſo had fortified himſelf with the Grecian infantry, whom he had drawn up near his perſon; believing this body only capable of oppoſing the Macedonian phalanx. As his army ſpread over a much greater ſpace of ground than that of the enemy, he intended to ſurround, and to charge them, at one and the ſame time, both in front and flank.

But Alexander had guarded againſt this, by giving orders to the commanders of the ſecond line, that in caſe they ſhould be charged behind, to face about to that ſide; or elſe to draw up their troops in form of a gibbet, and cover the wings, in caſe the enemy ſhould charge them in flank. He had poſted, in the front of his firſt line, the greateſt part of his bow-men, ſlingers, hurlers of javelins, in order that theſe might make head againſt the chariots armed with ſcythes; and frighten the horſes, by diſcharging at them a ſhower of arrows, javelins, and ſtones. Thoſe who led on the wings, were ordered to extend them as wide as poſſible; but in ſuch a manner as not to weaken the main body. As for the baggage and the captives, among whom were Darius's mother and children, they were left in the camp, under a ſmall guard. Parmenio com-

* According to ſeveral hiſtorians it amounted to upwards of a million of men.

† *Nomina veriùs quàm auxilia.* Q. Curt.

manded, as he had always done, the left wing, and Alexander the right.

When the two armies came in view, Alexander, who had been ſhown the ſeveral places where the crows feet were hid, extended more and more towards the right to avoid them; and the Perſians advanced forward in proportion. Darius, being afraid leſt the Macedonians ſhould draw him from the ſpot of ground he had levelled, and carry him into another that was rough and uneven, commanded the cavalry in his left wing, which ſpread much farther than that of the enemy's right, to march right forward, and wheel about upon the Macedonians in flank, to prevent them from extending their troops further. Then Alexander diſpatched againſt them the body of horſe in his ſervice commanded by Menidas; but, as theſe were not able to make head againſt the enemy, becauſe of their prodigious numbers, he re-inforced them with the Pæoneans, whom Aretas commanded, and with the foreign cavalry*. Beſides the advantage of numbers, they had that alſo of their coats of mail, which ſecured themſelves and their horſes much more. Alexander's cavalry was prodigiouſly annoyed: However, they marched to the charge with great bravery, and at laſt put them to flight.

Upon this, the Perſians oppoſed the chariots armed with ſcythes againſt the Macedonian phalanx, in order to break it, but with little ſucceſs. The noiſe which the ſoldiers who were lightly armed, made, by ſtriking their ſwords againſt their bucklers, and the arrows which flew on all ſides, frighted the horſes, and made a great number of them turn back againſt their own troops. Others, laying hold of the horſes' bridles, pulled the riders down, and cut them to pieces. Part of the chariots drove between the battalions, which opened to make way for them, as they had been ordered to do, by which means they did little or no execution.

Alexander, ſeeing Darius ſet his whole army in motion in order to charge him, employed a ſtratagem to encourage his ſoldiers. When the battle was at the hotteſt, and the Macedonians were in the greateſt danger, Ariſtander, the ſoothſayer, clothed in his white robes, holding a branch of laurel

* Some relate that the Barbarians gave way at firſt, but ſoon returned to the charge.

in his hand, advances among the combatants as he had been inſtructed by the king; and, crying that he ſaw an eagle hovering over Alexander's head (a ſure omen of victory) he ſhowed with his finger, the pretended bird to the ſoldiers; who relying upon the ſincerity of the ſoothſayer, fancied they alſo ſaw it; and thereupon renewed the attack with greater chearfulneſs and ardour than ever. Then the king perceiving that Aretas (after having charged the cavalry, and put them into diſorder, upon their advancing to ſurround his right wing) had begun to break the foremoſt ranks of the main body of the Barbarian army; he marched after Aretas, with the flower of his troops, when he quite broke the enemy's left wing, which had already begun to give way; and without purſuing the forces which he had thrown into diſorder, he wheeled to the left, in order to fall upon the body in which Darius had poſted himſelf. The preſence of the two kings inſpired both ſides with new vigour. Darius was mounted on a chariot, and Alexander on horſeback; both ſurrounded with their braveſt officers and ſoldiers, whoſe only endeavour was to ſave the lives of their reſpective princes, at the hazard of their own. The battle was obſtinate and bloody. Alexander, having wounded Darius's equerry with a javelin, the Perſians, as well as the Macedonians, imagined that the king was killed; upon which the former, breaking aloud into the moſt diſmal ſounds, the whole army was ſeiſed with the greateſt conſternation. The relations of Darius, who were at his left hand, fled away with the guards, and ſo abandoned the chariot; but thoſe who were at his right, took him into the centre of their body. Hiſtorians relate, that this prince having drawn his ſcimitar, reflected whether he ought not to lay violent hands upon himſelf, rather than fly in an ignominious manner: but, perceiving from his chariot that his ſoldiers ſtill fought, he was aſhamed to forſake them; and, as he was divided between hope and deſpair, the Perſians retired inſenſibly, and thinned their ranks; when it could no longer be called a battle, but a ſlaughter. Then Darius, turning about his chariot, fled with the reſt; and the conqueror was now wholly employed in purſuing him.

Whilſt all this was doing in the right wing of the Macedonians, where the victory was not doubtful; the left wing, commanded by Parmenio, was in great danger. A detach-

ment of the Perſian, Indian, and Parthian horſe, which were the beſt in all the Perſian army, having broke through the infantry on the left, advanced to the very baggage. The moment the captives ſaw them arrive in the camp, they armed themſelves with every thing that came firſt to hand, and re-inforcing their cavalry, ruſhed upon the Macedonians, who were now charged both before and behind. They, at the ſame time, told Syſigambis, that Darius had won the battle (for this they believed); that the whole baggage was plunddered, and that ſhe was now going to recover her liberty. But this princeſs, who was a woman of great wiſdom, though this news affected her in the ſtrongeſt manner, could not eaſily give credit to it; and being unwilling to exaſperate, by too haſty a joy, a conqueror, who had treated her with ſo much humanity, ſhe did not diſcover the leaſt emotion; did not once change countenance, nor let drop a ſingle word; but in her uſual poſture, calmly waited till the event ſhould denounce her fate.

Parmenio, upon the firſt report of this attack, had diſpatched a meſſenger to Alexander, to acquaint him with the danger to which the camp was expoſed, and to receive his orders. "Above all things (ſaid the prince) let him not weaken "his main body; let him not mind the baggage, but apply "himſelf wholly to the engagement; for victory will not only "reſtore us our own poſſeſſions, but alſo give thoſe of the "enemy into our hands." The general officers, who commanded the infantry which formed the centre of the ſecond line, ſeeing the enemy were going to make themſelves maſters of the camp and baggage, made a half-turn to the right, in obedience to the orders which had been given, and fell upon the Perſians behind, many of whom were cut to pieces, and the reſt obliged to retire; but as theſe were horſe, the Macedonian foot could not follow them.

Soon after, Parmenio himſelf was expoſed to much greater peril. Mazæus, having ruſhed upon him with all his cavalry, charged the Macedonians in flank, and began to ſurround them. Immediately Parmenio ſent Alexander advice of the danger he was in; declaring, that in caſe he were not immediately ſuccoured, it would be impoſſible for him to keep his ſoldiers together. The prince was actually purſuing Darius, and, fancying he was almoſt come up with him, rode with the

utmoſt ſpeed. He flattered himſelf, that he ſhould abſolutely put an end to the war, in caſe he could but ſeiſe his perſon. But, upon this news, he turned about, in order to ſuccour his left wing, ſhuddering with rage to ſee his prey and victory turn in this manner from him; and complaining againſt fortune, for having favoured Darius more in the flight, than himſelf in the purſuit of that monarch.

Alexander, in his march, met the enemy's horſe who had plundered the baggage; all which were returning in good order, and retiring back, not as ſoldiers who had been defeated, but almoſt as if they had gained the victory. And now the battle became more obſtinate than before; for, the Barbarians marching cloſe in columns, not in order of battle, but that of a march, it was very difficult to break through them; and they did not amuſe themſelves with throwing javelins, nor with wheeling about, according to their uſual cuſtom; but man engaging againſt man, each did all that lay in his power to unhorſe his enemy. Alexander loſt threeſcore of his guards in this attack. Hephæſtion, Cœnus, and Menidas, were wounded in it; however he triumphed on this occaſion, and all the Barbarians were cut to pieces, except ſuch as forced their way through his ſquadrons.

During this, news had been brought Mazæus that Darius was defeated; upon which, being greatly alarmed and dejected by the ill ſucceſs of that Monarch, though the advantage was entirely on his ſide, he ceaſed to charge the enemy, who were now in diſorder, ſo briſkly as before. Parmenio could not conceive how it came to paſs, that the battle, which before was carried on ſo warmly ſhould ſlacken on a ſudden: However, like an able commander, who ſeiſes every advantage, and who employs his utmoſt endeavours to inſpire his ſoldiers with freſh vigour, he obſerved to them, that the terror which ſpread throughout the whole army, was the forerunner of their defeat; and fired them with the notion how glorious it would be for them to put the laſt hand to the victory. Upon this exhortation, they recovered their former hopes and bravery; when transformed into other men, they gave their horſes the rein, and charged the enemy with ſo much fury, as threw them into the greateſt diſorder, and obliged them to fly. Alexander came up at that inſtant, and overjoyed to find the ſcale turned in

his favour, and the enemy entirely defeated, he renewed (in concert with Parmenio) the purſuit of Darius. He rode as far as Arbela, where he fancied he ſhould come up with that monarch and all his baggage; but Darius had only juſt paſſed by it, and left his treaſure a prey to the enemy, with his bow and ſhield.

Such was the ſucceſs of this famous battle, which gave empire to the conqueror. According to Arrian, the Perſians loſt three hundred thouſand men, beſides thoſe who were taken priſoners; which, at leaſt, is a proof that the loſs was very great on their ſide. That of Alexander was very inconſiderable, he not loſing, according to the laſt-mentioned author, twelve hundred men, moſt of whom were horſe. This engagement was fought in the month of * October, about the ſame time, two years before, that the battle of Iſſus was fought. As Gaugamela, in Aſſyria, the ſpot where the two armies engaged, was a ſmall place of very little note, this was called the battle of Arbela, that city being neareſt to the field of battle.

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

SECT. IX. *Alexander poſſeſſes himſelf of Arbela, Babylon, Suſa, Perſepolis; and finds immenſe riches in thoſe cities. In the heat of drinking he ſets fire to the palace of Perſepolis.*

[i] ALEXANDER's firſt care, after his obtaining the victory, was to offer magnificent ſacrifices to the gods by way of thankſgiving. He afterwards rewarded ſuch as had ſignalized themſelves remarkably in battle; beſtowed riches upon them with a very liberal hand, and gave to each of them houſes, employments, and governments. But, being deſirous of expreſſing more particularly his gratitude to the Greeks, for having appointed him generaliſſimo againſt the Perſians, he gave orders for aboliſhing the ſeveral tyrannical inſtitutions that had ſtarted up in Greece; that the cities ſhould be reſtored to their liberties, and all their rights and privileges. He wrote particularly to the Platæans, declaring, that it was his deſire their city ſhould be rebuilt, to reward the zeal and bravery by

[i] Diod. l. xvii. p. 538—540. Arrian. l. iii. p. 127—133. Plut. in Alex. p. 685—688. Quint. Curt. l. v. c. 1—7. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 14.

* The month, called by the Greeks *Boedromion*, anſwers partly to our month of October.

which their anceſtors had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, in defending the common liberties of Greece. [k] He alſo ſent part of the ſpoils to the people of Crotona in Italy; to honour, though ſo many years after, the good-will and courage of Phayllus the champion, a native of their country, who (whilſt war was carrying on between the Medes, and when all the reſt of the Greeks that were ſettled in Italy had abandoned the true Grecians, imagining they were entirely undone) fitted out a galley at his own expence, and ſailed to Salamis, to partake of the danger to which his countrymen were at that time expoſed. So great a friend and encourager, ſays Plutarch, was Alexander, of every kind of virtue; conſidering himſelf, ſays the ſame author, obliged in a manner to perpetuate the remembrance of all great actions; to give immortality to merit, and propoſe them to poſterity, as ſo many models for their imitation.

Darius, after his defeat, having but very few attendants, had rode towards the river Lycus. After croſſing it, ſeveral adviſed him to break down the bridges, becauſe the enemy purſued him. But he made this generous anſwer, * "That life "was not ſo dear to him, as to make him deſire to preſerve it "by the deſtruction of ſo many thouſands of his ſubjects and "faithful allies, who, by that means, would be delivered up to "the mercy of the enemy; that they had as much right to "paſs over this bridge as their ſovereign, and conſequently "that it ought to be as open to them." After riding a great number of leagues full ſpeed, he arrived at midnight at Arbela. From thence he fled towards Media, over the Armenian mountains, followed by a great number of the nobility, and a few of his guards. The reaſon of his going that way was, his ſuppoſing that Alexander would proceed towards Babylon and Suſa, there to enjoy the fruits of his victory; beſides, a numerous army could not purſue him by this road; whereas, in the other, horſes and chariots might advance with great eaſe; not to mention that the ſoil was very fruitful.

A few days after Arbela ſurrendered to Alexander, who found in it a great quantity of furniture belonging to the crown, rich clothes, and other precious moveables, with four

[k] Herodotus relates this hiſtory in very few words, l. viii. c. 47.

* *Non ita ſe ſaluti ſuæ velle conſultum, ut tot millia ſociorum hoſti objiciat: debere & aliis fugæ viam patere, quæ patuerit ſibi.* JUSTIN.

thouſand talents (about 775,000l.) and all the riches of the army, which Darius had left there at his ſetting out againſt Alexander, as was before obſerved. But he was ſoon obliged to leave that place, becauſe of the diſeaſes that ſpread in his camp, occaſioned by the infection of the dead bodies which covered all the field of battle. This prince advanced therefore over the plains towards Babylon, and, after four days' march, arrived at Memnis, where, in a cave, is ſeen the celebrated fountain which throws out ſo vaſt a quantity of bitumen, that, we are told, it was uſed as cement in building the walls of Babylon.

But what Alexander admired moſt, was a great gulph, whence ſtreamed perpetually rivulets of fire, as from an inexhauſtible ſpring; and a flood of naphtha, which overflowing, from the prodigious quantities of it, formed a great lake pretty near the gulph. This naphtha is exactly like bitumen, but has one quality more, *viz.* its catching fire ſo very ſuddenly, that, before it touches a flame, it takes fire merely from the light that ſurrounds the flame, and ſets the air between both on fire. The Barbarians, being deſirous of ſhowing the king the ſtrength and ſubtilty of this combuſtible ſubſtance, ſcattered ſeveral drops of it up and down after his arrival in Babylon, in that ſtreet which went up to the houſe he had choſen for his reſidence. After this, going to the other end of the ſtreet, they brought torches near the places where thoſe drops were fallen (for it was night;) and the drops which were nigheſt the torches taking fire on a ſudden, the flame ran in an inſtant to the other end; by which means the whole ſtreet ſeemed in one general conflagration.

When Alexander was got near Babylon, Mazæus, who had retired thither after the battle of Arbela, ſurrendered himſelf, with his children, who were grown up, and gave the city into his hands. The king was very well pleaſed with his arrival; for he would have met with great difficulties in beſieging a city of ſuch importance, and ſo well provided with every thing. Beſides his being a perſon of great quality, and very brave, he had alſo acquired great honour in the laſt battle; and others might have been prompted, from the example he ſet them, to imitate him. Alexander entered the city at the head of his whole army, as if he had been marching to a battle. The walls of Babylon were lined with people,

notwithſtanding the greateſt part of the citizens were gone out before, from the impatient deſire they had to ſee their new ſovereign, whoſe renown had far outſtripped his march. Bagophanes, governor of the fortreſs, and guardian of the treaſure, unwilling to diſcover leſs zeal than Mazæus, ſtrewed the ſtreets with flowers, and raiſed on both ſides of the way ſilver altars, which ſmoaked not only with frankincenſe, but the moſt fragrant perfumes of every kind. Laſt of all came the preſents which were to be made the king, *viz.* herds of cattle, and a great number of horſes; as alſo lions and panthers, which were carried in cages. After theſe the magi walked, ſinging hymns after the manner of their country; then the Chaldeans accompanied by the Babyloniſh ſoothſayers and muſicians: it was cuſtomary for the latter to ſing the praiſes of their kings to their inſtruments; and the Chaldeans to obſerve the motion of the planets, and the viciſſitude of ſeaſons. The rear was brought up by the Babyloniſh cavalry, which both men and horſes were ſo ſumptuous, that imagination can ſcarce reach their magnificence. The king cauſed the people to walk after his infantry, and himſelf, ſurrounded with his guards, and ſeated on a chariot, entered the city; and from thence rode to the palace, as in a kind of triumph. The next day he took a view of all Darius's money and moveables. Of the monies he found in Babylon, he gave, by way of extraordinary recompence, to each Macedonian horſeman ſix *minæ*, (about fifteen pounds;) to each mercenary horſeman two *minæ*, (about five pounds;) to every Macedonian foot ſoldier two *minæ;* and to every one of the reſt two months of their ordinary pay. He gave orders, purſuant to the advice of the magi, with whom he had ſeveral conferences, for the rebuilding the temples which Xerxes had demoliſhed; and, among others, that of Belus who was in greater veneration at Babylon than any other deity. He gave the government of the province to Mazæus, and the command of the forces he left there to Apollodorus of Amphipolis.

Alexander, in the midſt of the hurry and tumult of war, ſtill preſerved a love for the ſciences. He uſed often to converſe with the Chaldeans, who had always applied themſelves to the ſtudy of aſtronomy from its origin, and gained great fame by their knowledge in it.* They preſented him with

* *Porphyr. apud Simplic. in lib. ii. de Cœlo.*

aſtronomical obſervations taken by their predeceſſors during the ſpace of 1903 years, which conſequently went as far backward as the age of Nimrod. Theſe were ſent by Caliſthenes, who accompanied Alexander, to Ariſtotle.

The king reſided longer in Babylon than he had done in any other city, which was of great prejudice to the diſcipline of his forces. The people, even from a religious motive, abandoned themſelves to pleaſures, to voluptuouſneſs, and the moſt infamous exceſſes; nor did ladies, though of the higheſt quality, obſerve any decorum, or ſhow the leaſt reſerve in their immoral actions, but gloried therein, ſo far from endeavouring to conceal them, or bluſhing at their enormity. It muſt be confeſſed, that this army of ſoldiers, which had triumphed over Aſia, after having thus enervated themſelves, and rioted, as it were, in the ſloth and luxury of the city of Babylon, for thirty-four days together, would have been ſcarce able to complete their exploits, had they been oppoſed by an enemy. But, as they were re-inforced from time to time, theſe irregularities were not ſo viſible; for Amyntas brought ſix thouſand foot and five hundred Macedonian horſe, which were ſent by Antipater; and ſix hundred Thracian horſes, with three thouſand five hundred foot of the ſame nation; beſides four thouſand mercenaries from Peloponneſus, with near four hundred horſes.

The above-mentioned Amyntas had alſo brought the king fifty Macedonian youths, ſons to noblemen of the higheſt quality in the country, to ſerve as his guards. The youths in queſtion waited upon him at table, brought him his horſes when in the field, attended upon him in parties of hunting, and kept guard at the door of his apartment by turns: and theſe were the firſt ſteps to the higheſt employments both in the army and the ſtate.

After Alexander had left Babylon, he entered the province of Sitacena, the ſoil of which is very fruitful, and productive of every thing valuable, which made him continue the longer in it. But leſt indolence ſhould enervate the courage of his ſoldiers, he propoſed prizes for ſuch of them as ſhould exert the greateſt bravery; and appointed as judges of the actions of thoſe who ſhould diſpute this honour, perſons, who themſelves had been eye-witneſſes of the proofs of bravery which each ſoldier had given in the former battles; for on theſe only the

prizes were to be beſtowed. To each of the eight men who were pronounced moſt valiant, he gave a regiment, conſiſting of a thouſand men; whence thoſe officers were called *Chiliarchi*. This was the firſt time that regiments were compoſed of ſo great a number of ſoldiers, conſiſting before but of five hundred, and had not yet been the reward of valour. The ſoldiers ran in crowds to view this illuſtrious ſight, not only as eye-witneſſes of the actions of all, but as judges over the judges themſelves; becauſe they might perceive very eaſily, whether rewards were beſtowed on merit, or merely by favour; a circumſtance in which ſoldiers can never be impoſed upon. The prizes ſeem to have been diſtributed with the utmoſt equity and juſtice.

He likewiſe made ſeveral very advantageous changes in military diſcipline, as eſtabliſhed by his predeceſſors; for he formed one ſingle body of his whole cavalry, without ſhowing any regard to the difference of nations, and appointed ſuch officers to command them, as they themſelves thought fit to nominate; whereas, before the horſemen of every nation uſed to fight under his own particular ſtandard, and was commanded by a colonel of that country. The trumpet's ſound uſed to be the ſignal for the march; but as it very frequently could not be well heard, becauſe of the great noiſe that is made in decamping, he gave orders that a ſtandard ſhould be ſet up over his tent, which might be ſeen by his whole army. He alſo appointed fire to be the ſignal in the night-time, and ſmoke in the day.

Alexander marched afterwards towards Suſa, where he arrived twenty days after his leaving Babylon. As he came near it, Abutites, governor of the province, ſent his ſon to meet him, with a promiſe to ſurrender the city into his hands; whether he was prompted to this from his own inclination, or did it in obedience to the orders of Darius, to amuſe Alexander with the hopes of plunder, the king gave this young nobleman a very gracious reception, who attended him as far as the river Choaſpes, the waters of which are ſo famous, upon account of their exquiſite taſte[1]. The kings of Perſia never drank of any other; and, whitherſoever they went, a quantity of it, after having been put over the fire, was always carried after them in ſilver vaſes. It was here Abutites came to wait upon him,

[1] Herod. lib. i. c. 188.

bringing preſents worthy of a king; among which were dromedaries of incredible ſwiftneſs, and twelve elephants which Darius had ſent for from India. Being come into the city, he took immenſe ſums out of the treaſury, with fifty thouſand* talents of ſilver in ore and ingots, beſides moveables, and a thouſand other things of infinite value. This wealth was the produce of the exactions impoſed for ſeveral centuries upon the common people, from whoſe ſweat and poverty immenſe revenues were raiſed. The Perſian monarchs fancied they had amaſſed them for their children and poſterity; but, in one hour they fell into the hands of a foreign king, who was able to make a right uſe of them; for Alexander ſeemed to be merely the guardian or truſtee of the immenſe riches which he found hoarded up in Perſia; and applied them to no other uſe than the rewarding of merit and courage.

Among other things, there was found † five thouſand quintals of Hermione ‡ purple, the fineſt in the world, which had been treaſuring up there during the ſpace of one hundred and ninety years; notwithſtanding which, its beauty and luſtre was no ways diminiſhed.

Here likewiſe was found part of the rarities which Xerxes had brought from Greece; and, among others, the brazen ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, which Alexander ſent afterwards to Athens, where they were ſtanding in § Arrian's time.

The king being reſolved to march into Perſia, appointed Archelaus governor of the city of Suſa, with a garriſon of three thouſand men; Mazarus, one of the lords of his court, was made governor of the citadel, with a thouſand Macedonian ſoldiers, who could not follow him by reaſon of their great age. He gave the government of Suſiana to Abutites.

He left Darius's mother and children in Suſa, and having received from Macedonia a great quantity of purple ſtuffs and rich habits, made after the faſhion of the country, he preſented

* About ſeven million five hundred thouſand pounds.

† The reader will have an idea of the prodigious value of this, when he is told, that this purple was ſold at the rate of an hundred livres a pound. The quintal is an hundred weight of Paris.

‡ Hermione was a city of Argolis, where the beſt purple was dyed.

§ What Arrian aſcribes here to Alexander, in regard to the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, is attributed by other hiſtorians to other princes.

them to Syſigambis, together with the artificers who had wrought them; for he paid her every kind of honour, and loved her as tenderly as if ſhe had been his mother. He likewiſe commanded the meſſengers to tell her, that in caſe ſhe fancied thoſe ſtuffs, ſhe might make her grandchildren learn the art of weaving them, by way of amuſement; and to give them as preſents to whomſoever they ſhould think proper. At theſe words, the tears which fell from her eyes ſhewed but too evidently how greatly ſhe was diſpleaſed with theſe gifts; the working in wool being conſidered by the Perſian women as the higheſt ignominy. Thoſe who carried theſe preſents, having told the king that Syſigambis was very much diſſatisfied, he thought himſelf obliged to make an apology for what he had done, and adminiſter ſome conſolation to her. Accordingly, he paid her a viſit, when he ſpoke thus: "Mother, the ſtuff in "which you ſee me clothed, was not only a gift of my ſiſters, "but wrought by their fingers. Hence I beg you to believe, "that the cuſtom of my country miſled me; and do not con-"ſider that as an inſult, which was owing entirely to igno-"rance. I believe I have not, as yet, done any thing which I "knew interfered with your manners and cuſtoms. I was "told, that among the Perſians it is a ſort of crime for a ſon "to ſeat himſelf in his mother's preſence, without firſt ob-"taining her leave. You are ſenſible how cautious I have "always been in this particular; and that I never ſat down, "till you had firſt laid your commands upon me to do ſo. "And every time that you was going to fall proſtrate before "me, I only aſk you, whether I would ſuffer it? As the "higheſt teſtimony of the veneration I have for you, I always "called you by the tender name of mother, though this be-"longs properly to Olympias only, to whom I owe my "birth."

What I have juſt now related, may ſuggeſt two reflections, both which, in my opinion, are very natural, and at the ſame time of the utmoſt importance.

Firſt, we ſee to how great a height the Perſians (ſo vain and haughty in other reſpects) carried the veneration they ſhowed their parents. The reader, doubtleſs remembers, that Cyrus the Great, in the midſt of his conqueſts, and the moſt exalted pitch to which fortune had raiſed him, would not accept of the advantageous offer made him by Cyaxares, his uncle, *viz.*

of giving him his daughter in marriage, and Media for her dowry, till he had firſt adviſed with his father and mother, and obtained their conſent. * Hiſtory informs us here, that among the Perſians, a ſon never dared to ſeat himſelf before his mother, till he had firſt obtained her leave; and that to do otherwiſe was conſidered as a crime. Alas! how widely do our manners differ from ſo excellent an inſtitution?

Secondly, I diſcover, in the ſame relation, ſeveral valuable footſteps of that happy ſimplicity which prevailed in ancient times, when it was the cuſtom for ladies, though of the greateſt diſtinction, to employ themſelves in uſeful and ſometimes laborious works. Every one knows what is told us in ſcripture to this purpoſe concerning Rebecca, Rachael, and ſeveral others. We read in Homer, of princeſſes drawing themſelves water from ſprings; and waſhing, with their own hands, the linen of their reſpective families. † Here the ſiſters of Alexander, that is, the daughters of a powerful prince, are employed in making clothes for their brother. The celebrated Lucretia uſed to ſpin in the midſt of her female attendants. Auguſtus, who was ſovereign of the world, wore, for ſeveral years together, no other clothes but what his wife and ſiſter made him. It was a cuſtom in the northern parts of the world, not many years ſince, for the princeſs, who then ſat upon the throne, to prepare ſeveral of the diſhes at every meal. In a word, needle-work, the care of domeſtic affairs, a ſerious and retired life, is the proper function of women, and for this they were deſigned by Providence. The depravity of the age has indeed affixed to theſe cuſtoms, which are very near as old as the creation, an idea of meanneſs and contempt: but then, what has it ſubſtituted in the room of the harſh and vigorous exerciſes which a juſt education enabled the ſex to undertake, to that laborious and uſeful life which was ſpent at home? A ſoft indolence, a ſtupid idleneſs, frivolous converſations, vain amuſements, a ſtrong paſſion for public ſhows, and a frantic love of gaming. Let us compare theſe two characters, and then pronounce which of them may juſtly boaſt its being founded on good ſenſe, ſolid judgment, and a taſte for truth

* *Scio apud vos, filium in conſpectu matris nefas eſſe conſidere, niſi cùm illa permiſit.* Q. CURT.

† *Mater, hanc veſtem, quam indutus ſum, ſororum non ſolùm donum, ſed etiam opus vides.* Q. CURT.

and nature. It muſt nevertheleſs, be confeſſed, in honour of the fair ſex and of our nation, that ſeveral ladies among us, and thoſe of the higheſt quality, make it not only a duty, but a pleaſure, to employ themſelves in needle-works, not of a trifling, but of the moſt uſeful kind; and to make part of their furniture with their own hands. I alſo might add, that great numbers of theſe adorn their minds with agreeable, and, at the ſame time, ſerious and uſeful ſtudies.

Alexander, having taken his leave of Syſigambis, who now was extremely well ſatisfied, arrived on the banks of a river, called by the inhabitants Paſi Tigris. * Having croſſed it with nine thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe, conſiſting of Agrians, as well as of Grecian mercenaries, and a re-inforcement of three thouſand Thracians, he entered the country of the *Uxii*. This region lies near Suſa and extends to the frontiers of Perſia; a narrow paſs only lying between it and Suſiana. Madathes commanded this province. † This man was not a time-ſerver, nor a follower of fortune; but faithful to his ſovereign, he reſolved to hold out to the laſt extremity; and for this purpoſe, had withdrawn into his own city, which ſtood in the midſt of craggy rocks, and was ſurrounded with precipices. Having been forced from thence, he retired into the citadel, whence the beſieged ſent thirty deputies to Alexander, to ſue for quarter; which they obtained, at laſt, by the interceſſion of Syſigambis. The king not only pardoned Madathes, who was a near relation of that princeſs, but likewiſe ſet all the captives, and thoſe who had ſurrendered themſelves, at liberty; permitted them to enjoy their ſeveral rights and privileges; would not ſuffer the city to be plundered, but let them plough their lands without paying any tax or tribute. Could Syſigambis have poſſibly obtained more from her own ſon on this occaſion, had he been the victor?

The *Uxii* being ſubdued, Alexander gave part of his army to Parmenio, and commanded him to march it through the plain; whilſt himſelf, at the head of his light armed-troops, croſſed the mountains, which extend as far as Perſia. The fifth day he arrived at the paſs of Suſa. Ariobarzanes, with four thouſand foot and ſeven hundred horſe, had taken poſſeſſion of

* This river differs from the Tigris.

† *Haud ſanè temporum homo: quippe ultima pro fide experiri decreverat.* Q. Curt.

thoſe rocks which are craggy on all ſides, and poſted the Barbarians at the ſummit, out of the reach of arrows. He alſo had built a wall in thoſe paſſes, and encamped his forces under it. As ſoon as Alexander advanced in order to attack him, the Barbarians rolled, from the top of the mountains, ſtones of a prodigious ſize, which falling from rock to rock, ruſhed forward with the greater violence, and at once cruſhed to pieces whole bands of ſoldiers. The king being very much terrified at this ſight, commanded a retreat to be ſounded; and it was with the utmoſt grief he ſaw himſelf not only ſtopped at this paſs, but deprived of all hopes of ever being able to force it.

Whilſt he was revolving theſe gloomy thoughts, a Grecian priſoner ſurrendered himſelf to Alexander, with a promiſe to conduct him to the top of the mountain by another way. The king accepted of the offer, when, leaving the ſuperintendance of the camp and of the army to Craterus, he commanded him to cauſe a great number of fires to be lighted, in order that the Barbarians might thereby be more ſtrongly induced to believe, that Alexander was there in perſon. After this, taking ſome choſen troops with him, he ſet out, going through all the by-ways, as his guide directed. But, beſides that theſe paths were very craggy, and the rocks ſo ſlippery, that their feet would ſcarce ſtand upon them; the ſoldiers were alſo very much diſtreſſed by the ſnows which the winds had brought together, and which were ſo high, that the men fell into them, as into ſo many ditches; and when their comrades endeavoured to draw them out they themſelves would likewiſe ſink into them; not to mention, that their fears were greatly increaſed by the horrors of the night, by their being in an unknown country, and conducted by a guide, whoſe fidelity was doubtful. After having gone through a great number of difficulties and dangers, they at laſt got to the top of the mountain. Then going down, they diſcovered the enemy's corps-de-garde, and appeared behind them ſword in hand, at a time when they leaſt expected it. Such as made the leaſt defence, who were but few, were cut to pieces; by which means the cries of the dying on one ſide, and on the other the fright of thoſe who were flying to their main body, ſpread ſo great a terror, that they fled, without ſtriking a blow. At this noiſe Craterus advanced, as Alexander had commanded at his going away, and ſeiſed the paſs, which till

then had reſiſted his attacks; and at the ſame time, Philotas advanced forwards by another way, with Amyntas, Cœnus, and Polyſperchon, and broke quite through the Barbarians, who now were attacked on every ſide. The greateſt part of them were cut to pieces, and thoſe who fled, fell into precipices. Ariobarzanes, with part of the cavalry, eſcaped by flying over the mountains.

Alexander, from an effect of the good fortune, which conſtantly attended him in all his undertakings, having extricated himſelf happily out of the danger to which he was ſo lately expoſed, marched immediately towards Perſia. Being on the road he received letters from Tiridates, governor of Perſepolis, which informed him, that the inhabitants of that city, upon the report of his advancing towards him, were determined to plunder Darius's treaſures, with which he was intruſted, and therefore that it was neceſſary for him to make all the haſte imaginable to ſeiſe them himſelf; that he had only the * Araxes to croſs, after which the road was ſmooth and eaſy. Alexander, upon this news, leaving his infantry behind, marched the whole night at the head of his cavalry, who were very much haraſſed by the length and ſwiftneſs of this march, and paſſed the Araxes on a bridge, which, by his order, had been built ſome days before.

But, as he drew near the city, he perceived a large body of men, who exhibited a memorable example of the greateſt miſery. Theſe were about four thouſand Greeks, very far advanced in years, who, having been made priſoners of war, had ſuffered all the torments which the Perſian tyranny could inflict. The hands of ſome had been cut off, the feet of others; and others again had loſt their noſes and ears: after which, having impreſſed, by fire, barbarous characters on their faces, they had the inhumanity to keep them as ſo many laughing-ſtocks, with which they ſported perpetually. They appeared like ſo many ſhadows, rather than like men; ſpeech being almoſt the only thing by which they were known to be ſuch. Alexander could not refrain from tears at this ſight; and, as they unanimouſly beſought him to commiſerate their condition, he bid them, with the utmoſt tenderneſs, not to deſpond, and aſſured them, that they ſhould again ſee their

* This is not the ſame river with that in Armenia.

wives and country. This propoſal, which one might ſuppoſe ſhould naturally have filled them with joy, perplexed them very much, various opinions ariſing on that occaſion. "How will it be poſſible (ſaid ſome of them) for us to appear publicly before all Greece, in the dreadful condition to which we are reduced; a condition ſtill more ſhameful than diſſatisfactory? The beſt way to bear miſery is to conceal it; and no country is ſo ſweet to the wretched, as ſolitude, and an oblivion of their paſt calamities. Beſides, how will it be poſſible for us to undertake ſo long a journey? Driven to a great diſtance from Europe, baniſhed to the moſt remote part of the eaſt, worn out with age, and moſt of our limbs maimed, can we pretend to undergo fatigues, which have even wearied a triumphant army? The only thing that now remains for us, is to hide our miſery, and to end our days among thoſe, who are already ſo accuſtomed to our misfortunes." Others, in whom the love of their country extinguiſhed all other ſentiments, repreſented, "That the gods offered them what they ſhould not even have dared to wiſh, *viz.* their country, their wives, their children, and all thoſe things for whoſe ſake men are fond of life, and deſpiſe death. That they had long enough borne the ſad yoke of ſlavery; and that nothing happier could preſent itſelf than their being indulged the bliſs of going at laſt to breathe their native air, to reſume their ancient manners, laws, and ſacrifices, and to die in preſence of their wives and children."

However, the former opinion prevailed; and accordingly they beſought the king to permit them to continue in a country where they had ſpent ſo many years. He granted their requeſt, and preſented each of them * three thouſand drachmas; five men's ſuits of clothes, and the ſame number for women; two couple of oxen to plough their lands, and corn to ſow them. He commanded the governor of the province not to ſuffer them to be moleſted in any manner, and ordered that they ſhould be free from taxes and tributes of every kind. Such behaviour as this was truly royal. It was, indeed, impoſſible for Alexander to reſtore them the limbs, of which the Perſians had ſo cruelly deprived them; but then he reſtored

* About one hundred and fifty pounds.

them to liberty, tranquillity, and abundance. Thrice happy thoſe princes, who are affected with the pleaſure which ariſes from the doing of good actions, and who melt with pity for the unfortunate!

Alexander, having called together, the next day, the generals of his army, repreſented to them, "That no city in the "world had ever been more fatal to the Greeks than Per- "ſepolis, the ancient reſidence of the Perſian monarchs, and "the capital of their empire. For that it was from thence "all thoſe mighty armies poured, which had overflowed "Greece; and whence Darius, and afterwards Xerxes, had "carried the fire-brand of the moſt accurſed war, which had "laid waſte all Europe; and therefore that it was incumbent "on them to revenge the manes of their anceſtors." It was already abandoned by the Perſians, who all fled ſeparately as fear drove them. Alexander entered it with his phalanx, when the victorious ſoldiers ſoon met with riches ſufficient to ſatiate their avarice, and immediately cut to pieces all thoſe who ſtill remained in the city. However, the king ſoon put an end to the maſſacre, and publiſhed an order, by which his ſoldiers were forbid to violate the chaſtity of the women. Alexander had before poſſeſſed himſelf, either by force or capitulation, of a great number of incredibly rich cities; but all this was a trifle compared to the treaſures he found here. The Barbarians had laid up at Perſepolis, as in a ſtore-houſe, all the wealth of Perſia. Gold and ſilver were never ſeen here but in heaps, not to mention the clothes and furniture of ineſtimable value; for this was the ſeat of luxury. There was found in the treaſury one hundred and twenty thouſand talents*, which were deſigned to defray the expence of the war. To this prodigious ſum he added † ſix thouſand talents, taken from Paſagarda. This was a city which Cyrus had built, wherein the kings of Perſia uſed to be crowned.

During Alexander's ſtay in Perſepolis, a little before he ſet out upon his march againſt Darius, he entertained his friends at a banquet, at which the gueſts drank to exceſs. Among the women, who were admitted to it maſked, was Thais the courteſan, a native of Attica, and at that time miſtreſs to Ptolemy, who afterwards was king of Egypt. About the end

* About eighteen millions ſterling.
† About nine hundred thouſand pounds.

of the feaſt, during which ſhe had ſtudiouſly endeavoured to praiſe the king in the moſt artful and delicate manner (a ſtratagem too often practiſed by women of that character) ſhe ſaid, with a gay tone of voice, "That it would be matter "of inexpreſſible joy to her, were ſhe permitted (maſked as "ſhe then was, and in order to end this feſtival nobly) to "burn the magnificent palace of Xerxes, who had burned "Athens; and ſet it on fire with her own hand, in order that "it might be ſaid in all parts of the world, that the women, "who had followed Alexander in his expedition to Aſia, had "taken much better vengeance of the Perſians, for the many "calamities they had brought upon the Grecians, than all the "generals who had fought for them both by ſea and land." All the gueſts applauded the diſcourſe; when immediately the king roſe from table (his head being crowned with flowers) and taking a torch in his hand, he advanced forward to execute this mighty exploit. The whole company follow him, breaking into loud acclamations, and afterwards, ſinging and dancing, they ſurround the palace. All the reſt of the Macedonians, at this noiſe, ran in crouds, with lighted tapers, and ſet fire to every part of it. However, Alexander was ſorry, not long after, for what he had done; and thereupon gave orders for extinguiſhing the fire, but it was too late.

As he was naturally very bountiful, his great ſucceſſes increaſed this beneficent diſpoſition; and he accompanied the preſents he made with ſuch teſtimonies of humanity and kindneſs, and ſo obliging a carriage, as very much enhanced their merit. He exerted this temper in a particular manner towards fifty Macedonian young lords, who ſerved under him as guards. Olympias his mother, thinking him too profuſe, wrote to him as follows: "I do not blame you (ſaid ſhe) for "being beneficent towards your friends, for that is acting "like a king: but then a medium ought to be obſerved in your "magnificence. You equal them all with kings, and by "heaping riches on them, you give them an opportunity of "making a great number of friends, of all whom you de-"prive yourſelf." As ſhe often wrote the ſame advice to him, he always kept her letters very ſecret, and did not ſhow them to any perſon; but happening to open one of them, and beginning to read it, Hephæſtion drew near to him, and read it over his ſhoulder, which the king obſerving, did not offer to

hinder him; but taking only the ring from his finger, he put the ſeal of it upon the lips of his favorite, as an admonition to him not to divulge what he had read.

He uſed to ſend magnificent preſents to his mother; but then he would never let her have any concern in the affairs of the government. She uſed frequently to make very ſevere complaints upon that account, but he always ſubmitted to her ill humour with great mildneſs and patience. Antipater having one day wrote a long letter againſt her, the king, after reading it, replied, "Antipater does not know that one "ſingle tear ſhed by a mother, will obliterate ten thouſand "ſuch letters as this." A behaviour like this, and ſuch an anſwer, ſhow, at one and the ſame time, that Alexander was both a kind ſon and an able politician; and that he was perfectly ſenſible how dangerous it would have been, had he inveſted a woman of Olympias's character with the ſupreme authority.

SECT. X. *Darius leaves Ecbatana. He is betrayed and put in chains by Beſſus, governor of Bactria. The latter, upon Alexander's advancing towards him, flies, after having covered Darius with wounds, who expires a few moments before Alexander's arrival. He ſends his corpſe to Syſigambis.*

[m] ALEXANDER, after he had taken Perſepolis and Paſagarda, was reſolved to purſue Darius, who was arrived by this time at Ecbatana, the capital of Media. There remained ſtill with this fugitive prince thirty thouſand foot, among whom were four thouſand Greeks, who were faithful to him to the laſt. Beſides theſe he had four thouſand ſlingers, and upwards of three thouſand cavalry, moſt of them Bactrians, commanded by Beſſus, governor of Bactria. Darius marched his forces a little out of the common road, having ordered his baggage to go before them; then aſſembling his principal officers, he ſpoke to them as follows: "Dear com-"panions, among ſo many thouſand men who compoſed my "army, you only have not abandoned me during the whole "courſe of my ill fortune; and in a little time, nothing but

[m] Diod. l. xvii. p. 540—546. Arrian. l. iii. p. 133—137. Plutarch in Alex. p. 689. Q. Curt. l. v. c. 8—14. Juſtin. l. xi. c. 15.

" your fidelity and conſtancy will be able to make me fancy " myſelf a king. Deſerters and traitors now govern in my " cities; not that they are thought worthy of the honour be- " ſtowed on them, but rewards are given them only in the " view of tempting you, and to ſtagger your perſeverance. " You ſtill choſe to follow my fortune rather than that of " the conqueror, for which you certainly have merited a re- " compence from the gods; and I do not doubt but they will " prove beneficent towards you, in caſe that power is denied " me. With ſuch ſoldiers and officers I would brave, with- " out the leaſt dread, the enemy, how formidable ſoever he " may be. What! would any one have me ſurrender myſelf " up to the mercy of the conqueror, and expect from him, " as a reward of my baſeneſs and meanneſs of ſpirit, the go- " vernment of ſome province which he may condeſcend to " leave me? No—It never ſhall be in the power of any man, " either to take away, or fix upon my head the diadem I " wear; the ſame hour ſhall put a period to my reign and " life. If you have all the ſame courage and reſolution, " which I can no ways doubt, I aſſure myſelf that you ſhall " retain your liberty, and not be expoſed to the pride and " inſults of the Macedonians. You have in your hands the " means either to revenge or terminate all your evils." Having ended this ſpeech, the whole body of ſoldiers replied with ſhouts, that they were ready to follow him whitherſoever he ſhould go, and would ſhed the laſt drop of their blood in his defence.

Such was the reſolution of the ſoldiery; but Nabarzanes, one of the greateſt lords of Perſia, and general of the horſe, had conſpired with Beſſus, general of the Bactrians, to commit the blackeſt of all crimes, and that was, to ſeiſe upon the perſon of the king, and lay him in chains; which they might eaſily do, as each of them had a great number of ſoldiers under his command. Their deſign was, if Alexander ſhould purſue them, to ſecure themſelves, by giving up Darius alive into his hands; and, in caſe they eſcaped, to murder that prince, and afterwards uſurp his crown, and begin a new war. Theſe traitors ſoon won over the troops, by repreſenting to them, that they were going to their deſtruction; that they would ſoon be cruſhed under the ruins of an empire, which was juſt ready to fall; at the ſame time that Bactriana was

open to them, and offered them immenſe riches. Though theſe practices were carried on very ſecretly, they came however to the ear of Darius, who could not believe them. Patron, who commanded the Greeks, intreated him, but in vain, to pitch his tent among them, and to truſt the guard of his perſon to men on whoſe fidelity he might depend. Darius could not prevail with himſelf to put ſo great an affront upon the Perſians, and therefore made this anſwer: "That it would be a "leſs affliction to him to be deceived by, than to condemn "them. That he would ſuffer the worſt of evils amidſt "thoſe of his own nation, rather than ſeek for ſecurity among "ſtrangers, how faithful and affectionate ſoever he might "believe them: and that he could not but die too late, in "caſe the Perſian ſoldiers thought him unworthy of life." It was not long before Darius experienced the truth of this counſel; for the traitors ſeiſed him, bound him in chains of gold, by way of honour, as he was a king, and then laying him in a covered chariot, they ſet out towards Bactriana.

Alexander being arrived at Ecbatana, was informed that Darius had left that city five days before. He then commanded Parmenio to lay up all the treaſures of Perſia in the caſtle of Ecbatana, under a ſtrong guard which he left there. According to [n] Strabo, theſe treaſures amounted to an hundred and eighty thouſand talents (about twenty ſeven millions ſterling); and, according to [o] Juſtin, to ten talents more, (about fifteen hundred thouſand pounds). He ordered him to march afterwards towards Hyrcania, by the country of the *Caduſians*, with the Thracians, the foreigners, and the reſt of the cavalry, the royal companies excepted. He ſent orders to Clitus, who ſtayed behind in Suſa, where he fell ſick, that as ſoon as he was arrived at Ecbatana, he ſhould take the forces which were left in that city, and come to him in Parthia.

Alexander, with the reſt of his army, purſued Darius, and arrived the eleventh day at * Rhaga, which is a long day's journey from the Caſpian ſtraits; but Darius had already paſſed through them. Alexander now deſpairing to overtake him, what diſpatch ſoever he might make, ſtayed there five days to reſt his forces. He then marched againſt the Parthians, and that day pitched his camp near the Caſpian ſtraits,

[n] Strab. l. xv. p. 741. [o] Juſtin. l. xii. c. 1.

* This is the city mentioned in Tobit iii. 7.

and paſſed them the next. News was ſoon brought him, that Darius had been ſeiſed by the traitors; that Beſſus had cauſed him to be drawn in a chariot, and had ſent the unhappy monarch before, in order to be the ſurer of his perſon; that the whole army obeyed that wretch, Artabazus and the Greeks excepted, who not having a ſoul baſe enough to conſent to ſo abominable a deed, and being too weak to prevent it, had therefore left the high road, and marched towards the mountains.

This was a freſh motive for him to haſten his march. The Barbarians at his arrival, were ſeiſed with dread, though the match would not have been equal, had Beſſus been as reſolute for fighting, as for putting in execution the deteſtable act above-mentioned: for his troops exceeded the enemy both in number and ſtrength, and were all cool and ready for the combat; whereas Alexander's troops were quite fatigued with the length of their march. But the name and reputation of Alexander (a motive all-powerful in war) filled them with ſuch prodigious terror, that they all fled. Beſſus and his accomplices being come up with Darius, they requeſted him to mount his horſe, and fly from the enemy, but he replied, that the gods were ready to revenge the evils he had ſuffered; and beſeeching Alexander to do him juſtice, he refuſed to follow a band of traitors. At theſe words they fell into ſuch a fury, that all threw their darts at him, and left him covered with wounds. After having perpetrated this horrid crime, they ſeparated, in order to leave different footſteps of their flight, and thereby elude the purſuit of the enemy, in caſe he ſhould follow them; or at leaſt oblige him to divide his forces. Nabarzanes took the way of Hyrcania, and Beſſus that of Bactriana, both being followed by a very few horſe-men; and, as the Barbarians were by this means deſtitute of leaders, they diſperſed themſelves up and down, as fear or hope directed their ſteps.

After ſearching about in different places, Darius was at laſt found in a ſolitude, his body run through with ſpears, lying in a chariot, and drawing near his end. However, he had ſtrength enough before he died to call for drink, which a Macedonian, Polyſtratus by name, brought him. He had a Perſian priſoner, whom he employed as interpreter. Darius, after drinking the liquor that had been given him, turned to

the Macedonian, and ſaid, "That in the deplorable ſtate to "which he was reduced, he however ſhould have the com- "fort to ſpeak to one who could underſtand him, and that his "laſt words would not be loſt. He therefore charged him "to tell Alexander, that he died in his debt, though he had "never obliged him. That he gave him a multitude of thanks "for the great humanity he had exerciſed towards his mo- "ther, his wife, and his children, whoſe lives he had not "only ſpared, but reſtored them to their former ſplendour. "That he beſought the gods to give victory to his arms, and "make him monarch of the univerſe. That he thought he "need not intreat him to revenge the execrable murder com- "mitted on his perſon, as this was the common cauſe of "kings."

After this, taking Polyſtratus by the hand, "Give him, "(ſaid he) thy hand, as I give thee mine; and carry him, "in my name, the only pledge I am able to give of my grati- "tude and affection." Saying theſe words, he breathed his laſt. Alexander coming up a moment after, and ſeeing Darius's body, he wept bitterly; and, by the ſtrongeſt teſti- monies of affection that could be given him, proved how in- timately he was affected with the unhappineſs of a prince who deſerved a better fate. He immediately pulled off his mili- tary cloak, and threw it on Darius's body; then cauſing it to be embalmed, and his coffin to be adorned with a royal magnificence, he ſent it to Syſigambis, in order that it might be interred with the honours uſually paid to the deceaſed Perſian monarchs, and be entombed with his anceſtors.

Thus died Darius, the third year of the 112th Olympiad, at about fifty years of age, ſix of which he had reigned. He was a gentle and pacific prince; his reign having been unful- lied with injuſtice or cruelty, which was owing either to his natural lenity, or to his not having had an opportunity of acting otherwiſe, from the perpetual war he had carried on againſt Alexander all the time he had ſat upon the throne. In him the Perſian empire ended, after having exiſted two hundred and nine years, computing from the beginning of the reign of Cyrus the Great (the founder of it) under thirteen kings, *viz.* Cyrus, Cambyſes, Smerdis Magus, Darius ſon of Hyſtaſpis, Xerxes I. Artaxerxes Longimanus, Xerxes II

A. M. 3674. Ant. J. C. 330.

Sogdianus, Darius Nothus, Artaxerxes Mnemon, Artaxerxes Ochus, Arſes, and Darius Codomanus.

SECT. XI. *Vices which firſt cauſed the declenſion, and at laſt the ruin of the Perſian empire.*

THE death of Darius Codomanus may very juſtly be conſidered as the æra, but not as the ſole cauſe of the deſtruction of the Perſian monarchy. When we take a general view of the hiſtory of the kings above-mentioned, and conſider with ſome attention their different characters and methods of governing, whether in peace or war, we eaſily perceive that this declenſion was prepared at a great diſtance, and carried on to its end by viſible ſteps which denoted a total ruin.

We may declare at firſt ſight, that the declenſion of the Perſian empire and its fall, are owing to its origin and primitive inſtitution. It had been formed by the union of two nations, who differed very much in manners and inclinations. The Perſians were a ſober, laborious, modeſt people; but the Medes were wholly devoted to pride, luxury, ſoftneſs and voluptuouſneſs. The example of frugality and ſimplicity which Cyrus had ſet them, and their being obliged to be always under arms to gain ſo many victories, and ſupport themſelves in the midſt of ſo many enemies, prevented thoſe vices from ſpreading for ſome time: but after thoſe nations had ſubjected all things, the fondneſs which the Medes had naturally for pleaſures and magnificence, ſoon leſſened the temperance of Perſians, and became, in a little time, the prevailing taſte of the two nations.

Several other cauſes conſpired to this. Babylon, when conquered, intoxicated its victors with her poiſoned cup, and inchanted them with the charms of pleaſure. She furniſhed them with ſuch miniſters and inſtruments, as were adapted to promote luxury, and to foment and cheriſh delights with art and delicacy: and the wealth of the richeſt provinces in the world, being at the entire diſpoſal of new ſovereigns, they thereby were enabled to ſatiate all their deſires.

Even Cyrus himſelf, as I obſerved elſewhere, contributed to this, without perceiving the conſequence of it; and pre-

pared men's minds by the ſplendid banquet he gave, after having ended his conqueſts; and when he ſhewed himſelf in the midſt of his troops, who had ſhared in his victories, with ſuch a pomp and oſtentation as were moſt capable of dazzling the eye. He began, by inſpiring them with an admiration for pomp and ſhow, which they had hitherto deſpiſed. He ſuggeſted to them, that magnificence and riches were worthy of crowning the moſt glorious exploits, and the end and fruit of them: and by thus inſpiring his ſubjects with a ſtrong deſire for things they ſaw ſo highly eſteemed by a moſt accompliſhed prince, his example authoriſed them to abandon themſelves to that guſt without reſerve.

He alſo ſpread this evil by his obliging judges, officers, and governors of provinces, to appear in ſplendour before the people, the better to repreſent the majeſty of the prince. On one ſide, theſe magiſtrates and commanders eaſily miſtook theſe ornaments and trappings of their employments for the moſt eſſential parts of them, endeavouring to diſtinguiſh themſelves by nothing but this glittering outſide: and, on the other ſide, men of the greateſt wealth in the provinces propoſed them as ſo many patterns for their imitation, and were ſoon followed by perſons of moderate fortune, whom thoſe in the loweſt ſtations of life endeavoured to equal.

So many cauſes of degeneracy uniting together, and being authoriſed publicly, ſoon deſtroyed the ancient virtue of the Perſians. They did not ſink, like the Romans, by imperceptible decays, which had been long foreſeen and often oppoſed. Scarce was Cyrus dead, but there roſe up as it were another nation, and kings of a quite different genius and character. Men no longer diſcourſed of that manly, that ſevere education which was beſtowed on the Perſian youth; of thoſe public ſchools of ſobriety, patience, and emulation for virtue, nor of thoſe laborious and warlike exerciſes; of all theſe there did not remain the ſmalleſt traces: their young men being brought up in ſplendour and effeminacy, which they now ſaw was had in honour, immediately began to deſpiſe the happy ſimplicity of their forefathers, and formed, in the ſpace of one generation, an entire new ſet of people, whoſe manners, inclinations, and maxims, were directly oppoſite to thoſe of ancient times. They grew haughty, vain, effeminate, inhuman, and perfidious in treaties; and acquired this

peculiar character, that they, of all people, were the moſt abandoned to ſplendour, luxury, feaſting, and even to drunkenneſs; ſo that we may affirm, that the empire of the Perſians was, almoſt at its birth, what other empires grew up to through length of time only, and began where others end. It bore the principle of its deſtruction in its own boſom, and this internal vice increaſed every reign.

After the unſucceſsful expeditions of Darius and Xerxes againſt Scythia and Greece, the princes their ſucceſſors became inſenſible to the ambition of making conqueſts, and gave themſelves up a prey to idleneſs and effeminacy: they grew careleſs of military diſcipline, and ſubſtituted in the place of regular ſoldiers, inured to the toils of war, a confuſed multitude of men, who were taken by force out of their reſpective countries. The reader may have obſerved, on more than one occaſion, that the whole ſtrength, and almoſt the only reſource of the Perſian army, lay in the Greeks in their ſervice: that they properly depended on them only, and always took great care to oppoſe them to the beſt troops of the enemy: they were the only ſoldiers in Darius's army who performed their duty, and continued faithful to him to the laſt; and we have ſeen that Memnon the Rhodian was the ſole great general who fought againſt Alexander.

Inſtead of chooſing for the command of their forces officers of ſkill and experience, they uſed to appoint perſons of the greateſt quality of every nation, who frequently had no other merit than their exalted birth, their riches and credit; and who were diſtinguiſhed by nothing but the ſumptuouſneſs of their feaſts and entertainments, by the magnificence of their equipages, and by the crowd with which they were ever ſurrounded, of guards, domeſtics, eunuchs, and women; ſuch an aſſemblage, formed merely for vain ſhow and oſtentation, rather than for warlike expeditions, incumbered an army (already but too numerous) with uſeleſs ſoldiers, made it ſlow in its marches and movements by its too heavy baggage, and rendered it incapable of ſubſiſting long in a country, and of completing great enterpriſes in ſight of an enemy.

The Perſian monarchs ſhutting themſelves up in their palaces in order to abandon themſelves to pleaſures, and appearing ſeldom abroad, placed their whole confidence, and by that means all their authority, in eunuchs, to women, to

ſlaves, and to flattering courtiers, whoſe ſole thoughts and endeavours were to baniſh true merit, which was offenſive to them; to give the rewards appointed for ſervices to their own creatures; and to entruſt the greateſt employments of the ſtate to perſons devoted to their intereſted and ambitious views, rather than to ſuch whoſe abilities rendered them capable of ſerving their country.

Another character of theſe princes, which is but too frequent in that high ſphere, contributed very much to the ruin of the empire. They were accuſtomed from their infancy to have their ears ſoothed with falſe praiſes, and the moſt extravagant compliments, and to have a blind ſubmiſſion paid to their will. They were educated in ſo exalted an idea of their own grandeur, as perſuaded them that the reſt of men were formed merely to ſerve them, and adminiſter to their pleaſures. They were not taught their duties, nor the maxims of a wiſe and good government; the principles by which men judge of ſolid merit, and are capable of chooſing perſons able to govern under them. They did not know that they were raiſed to ſovereign power merely to protect their ſubjects and make them happy. They were not made ſenſible of the exquiſite pleaſure that monarch feels, who is the delight of his ſubjects, and the public ſource of the felicity of ſo vaſt an empire, as Cyrus the great had been, who was ſo dear to his people, that every individual family conſidered him as their father, and bewailed his death as a public calamity. So far from this, a monarch's grandeur was declared to conſiſt in making himſelf feared, and in his being able to gratify all his paſſions with impunity.

So ill-judged an education muſt neceſſarily form either weak or vicious princes. They were not able to ſuſtain the weight of ſo mighty an empire, nor to graſp the ſeveral parts of ſo extenſive and painful an adminiſtration. Idleneſs, and a love for pleaſure, made them careleſs, and averſe to buſineſs of every kind; and they ſacrificed matters of the higheſt importance to their vain amuſements. Some of them were born with ſuch happy diſpoſitions, that they would have become good princes, had they not been enervated by the charms of a voluptuous life; and abandoned themſelves to the allurements of a too deſpotic power, and an over-great proſperity. By flattery, they were rendered incapable of liſtening, in their

councils, to any expreſſion delivered with freedom, or of ſuffering the leaſt oppoſition to their wills.

It is no wonder they were not beloved by their ſubjects, ſince their whole ſtudy was to aggrandize themſelves, and to ſacrifice all conſiderations to that alone. Darius, in his misfortunes, was abandoned by the generals of his armies, by the governors of his provinces, by his officers, domeſtics, and ſubjects; and did not find any where a ſincere affection, nor a real attachment to his perſon and intereſt. The dazzling ſplendour of the Perſian monarchy concealed a real weakneſs; and this unwieldy power, heightened by ſo much pomp and pride, was abhorred by the people; ſo that this Coloſſus, at the very firſt blow, fell to the ground.

SECT. XII. *Lacedæmonia revolts from the Macedonians, with almoſt all Peloponneſus. Antipater marches out on this occaſion, defeats the enemy in a battle, in which Agis is killed. Alexander marches againſt Beſſus. Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons, comes to viſit him from a far country. Alexander, at his return from Parthia, abandons himſelf to pleaſure and exceſs. He continues his march towards Beſſus. A pretended conſpiracy of Philotas againſt the king. He, and Parmenio his father, are put to death. Alexander ſubdues ſeveral nations. He at laſt arrives in Bactriana, whither Beſſus is brought to him.*

A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329.

[p] WHILST things paſſed in Aſia, as we have ſeen, ſome tumults broke out in Greece and Macedonia. Memnon, whom Alexander had ſent into Thrace, having revolted there, and thereby drawn the forces of Antipater on that ſide; the Lacedæmonians thought this a proper opportunity to throw off the Macedonian yoke, and engaged almoſt all Peloponneſus in their deſign. Upon this news, Antipater, after having ſettled to the beſt of his power the affairs of Thrace, returned with the utmoſt expedition into Greece, whence he immediately diſpatched couriers, in order to give Alexander an account of theſe ſeveral tranſactions. As ſoon as Antipater was come up with the enemy, he reſolved to venture a battle. The Lacedæmonian army conſiſted of no

[p] Diod. l. xvii. p. 537. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 1.

more than twenty thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, under the command of Agis their king; whereas that of Antipater was twice that number. Agis, in order to make the ſuperiority of numbers of no effect, had made choice of a narrow ſpot of ground. The battle began with great vigour, each party endeavouring to ſignaliſe themſelves in an extraordinary manner, for the honour of their reſpective countries; the one fired with the remembrance of their priſtine glory, and the other animated by their preſent greatneſs, fought with equal courage; the Lacedæmonians for liberty, and the Macedonians for empire. So long as the armies continued on the ſpot where the battle began, Agis had the advantage; but Antipater, by pretending to fly, drew the enemy into the plains; after which, extending his whole army, he gained a ſuperiority, and made a proper uſe of his advantage. Agis was diſtinguiſhed by his ſuit of armour, his noble mien, and ſtill more ſo by his valour. The battle was hotteſt round his perſon, and he himſelf performed the moſt aſtoniſhing acts of bravery. At laſt, after having been wounded in ſeveral parts of his body, his ſoldiers laying him upon his ſhield, carried him off. However, this did not damp their courage, for having ſeiſed an advantageous poſt where they kept cloſe in their ranks, they reſiſted with great vigour, the attacks of the enemy. After having withſtood them a long time, the Lacedæmonians began to give ground, being ſcarce able to hold their arms, which were all covered with ſweat; they afterwards retired very faſt, and at laſt ran quite away. The king, ſeeing himſelf cloſely purſued, ſtill made ſome efforts, notwithſtanding the weak condition to which he was reduced, in order to oppoſe the enemy. Intrepid and invincible to the laſt, oppreſſed by numbers, he died ſword in hand.

In this engagement upwards of three thouſand Lacedæmonians loſt their lives, and a thouſand Macedonians at moſt; but very few of the latter returned home unwounded. This victory not only ruined the power of Sparta and its allies, but alſo the hopes of thoſe who only waited the iſſue of this war, to declare themſelves. Antipater immediately ſent the news of this ſucceſs to Alexander: but, like an experienced courtier, he drew up the account of it in the moſt modeſt and circumſpect terms; in ſuch as were beſt adapted to

diminiſh the luſtre of a victory which might expoſe him to envy. He was ſenſible, that Alexander's delicacy, with regard to honour, was ſo very great, that he looked upon the glory which another perſon obtained, as a diminution of his own. And, * indeed he could not forbear, when this news was brought him, to let drop ſome words which diſcovered his jealouſy. Antipater did not dare to diſpoſe of any thing by his own private authority, and only gave the Lacedæmonians leave to ſend an embaſſy to the king, in order that they themſelves might tell him the ill ſucceſs they had met with. Alexander pardoned them, ſome of thoſe who had occaſioned the revolt excepted, and theſe he puniſhed.

[q] Darius's death did not hinder Alexander from purſuing Beſſus, who had withdrawn into Bactriana, where he had aſſumed the title of king, by the name of Artaxerxes. But, finding at laſt that it would be impoſſible for him to come up with him, he returned into Parthia; and reſting his troops ſome days in Hecatompylos, commanded proviſions of all ſorts to be brought thither.

During his ſtay there, a report prevailed throughout the whole army, that the king, content with the conqueſts he had atchieved, was preparing to return into Macedonia. That very inſtant the ſoldiers, as if a ſignal had been made for their ſetting out, ran like madmen to their tents, began to pack up their baggage, load the waggons with the utmoſt diſpatch, and fill the whole camp with noiſe and tumult. Alexander was ſoon informed of this, when terrified at the diſorder, he ſummoned the officers to his tent, where, with tears in his eyes, he complained, that in the midſt of ſo glorious a career, he was ſtopped on a ſudden, and forced to return back into his own country, rather like one who had been overcome, than as a conqueror. The officers comforted him, by repreſenting, that this ſudden motion was a mere ſally, and a tranſient guſt of paſſion, which would not be attended with any ill conſequences; and aſſured him, that the ſoldiers, to a man, would obey him, provided he would addreſs himſelf to them in tender expreſſions. He promiſed to do it. The circumſtance which had given occaſion

q Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 2—4.

* *Alexander hoſtes vinci voluerat; Antipatrum viciſſe, ne tacitus quidem indignabatur, ſuæ demptum gloriæ exiſtimans, quicquid ceſſiſſet alienæ.* Q. Curt.

to this falſe report, was, his having diſbanded ſome Grecian ſoldiers, after rewarding them in a very bountiful manner; ſo that the Macedonians imagined they alſo were to fight no more.

Alexander having ſummoned the army, made the following ſpeech: "I am not ſurpriſed, O ſoldiers, if, after the "mighty things we have hitherto performed, you ſhould be "ſatiated with glory, and have no other views but eaſe and "repoſe. I will not now enumerate the various nations we "have conquered. We have ſubdued more provinces than "others have cities. Could I perſuade myſelf, that our "conqueſts were well ſecured, over nations who were ſo "ſoon overcome, I would think as you do (for I will not "diſſemble my thoughts) and would make all the haſte imaginable to reviſit my houſehold-gods, my mother, my "ſiſters, and my ſubjects, and enjoy in the midſt of my "country the glory I have acquired in concert with you. "But this glory will all vaniſh very ſoon, if we do not put "the laſt hand to the work. Do you imagine, that ſo many "nations, accuſtomed to other ſovereigns, and who have no "manner of ſimilitude to us either in their religion, manners, "or language, were entirely ſubdued the moment they were "conquered; and that they will not take up arms, in caſe "we return back with ſo much precipitation? What will "become of the reſt who ſtill remain unconquered? How! "ſhall we leave our victory imperfect, merely for want of "courage! But that which touches me much more; ſhall "we ſuffer the deteſtable crime of Beſſus to go unpuniſhed? "Can you bear to ſee the ſceptre of Darius in the ſanguinary hands of that monſter, who, after having loaded "him with chains, as a captive, at laſt aſſaſſinated his ſovereign, in order to deprive us of the glory of ſaving him? "As for myſelf, I ſhall not be eaſy till I ſee that infamous "wretch hanging on a gibbet, there to pay, to all kings "and nations of the earth, the juſt puniſhment due to his "execrable crime. I do not know whether I am miſtaken; "but methinks I read his ſentence of death in your countenances; and that the anger which ſparkles in your eyes, "declares you will ſoon imbrue your hands in that traitor's "blood."

The ſoldiers would not ſuffer Alexander to proceed; but

clapping their hands, they all cried aloud, that they were ready to follow wherever he would lead them. All the ſpeeches of this prince generally produced this effect. In how deſponding a condition ſoever they might be, one ſingle word from him revived their courage in an inſtant, and inſpired them with that martial alacrity and ardour, which appeared always in his face. The king, taking advantage of this favourable diſpoſition of the whole army, croſſed Parthia, and in three days arrived on the frontiers of Hyrcania, which ſubmitted to his arms. He afterwards ſubdued the *Mardi*, the *Arii*, the *Drangæ*, the *Arachoſii*, and ſeveral other nations, into which his army marched, with greater ſpeed than people generally travel. He frequently would purſue an enemy for whole days and nights together, almoſt without ſuffering his troops to take any reſt. By this prodigious rapidity, he came unawares upon nations who thought him at a great diſtance, and ſubdued them before they had time to put themſelves in a poſture of defence. Under this image Daniel the prophet ſhadowed Alexander many ages before his birth, by repreſenting him as a panther, a leopard, and a goat, who ruſhed forward with ſo much ſwiftneſs, that his feet ſeemed not to touch the ground.

[r] Nabarzanes, one of Beſſus's accomplices, who had written before to Alexander, came and ſurrendered himſelf, upon promiſe of a pardon, when he heard that he was arrived at Zadracarta, the capital of Hyrcania; and, among other preſents, brought him Bagoas the eunuch, who afterwards gained as great an aſcendant over Alexander, as before over Darius.

At the ſame time arrived Thaleſtris, queen of the Amazons. A violent deſire of ſeeing Alexander had prompted that princeſs to leave her dominions, and travel through a great number of countries to gratify her curioſity. Being come pretty near his camp, ſhe ſent word that a queen was come to viſit him; and that ſhe had a prodigious inclination to cultivate his acquaintance, and accordingly was arrived within a little diſtance from that place. Alexander having returned her a favourable anſwer, ſhe commanded her train to ſtop, and herſelf came forward with three hundred women; and the moment ſhe perceived the king, ſhe leaped from

[r] Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

her horſe, having two lances in her right hand. The dreſs the Amazons uſed to wear, did not quite cover the body; for their boſom being uncovered on the left ſide, every other part of their body was hid; their gowns being tucked up with a knot, and ſo deſcended no farther than the knee. They preſerved their right breaſt to ſuckle their female offspring, but uſed to burn the left, that they might be the better enabled to bend the bow and throw the dart, whence they were called * *Amazons*.

Thaleſtris † looked upon the king without diſcovering the leaſt ſign of admiration, and ſurveying him attentively, did not think his ſtature anſwerable to his fame; for the Barbarians are very much ſtruck with a majeſtic air, and think thoſe only capable of mighty atchievements, on whom nature has beſtowed bodily advantages. She did not ſcruple to tell him, that the chief motive of her journey was to have poſterity by him; adding, that ſhe was worthy of giving heirs to his empire. Alexander, upon this requeſt, was obliged to make ſome ſtay in this place; after which Thaleſtris returned to her kingdom, and the king into the province inhabited by the Parthians. This ſtory, and whatever is related of the Amazons, is looked upon by ſome very judicious authors, as entirely fabulous.

[a] Alexander devoted himſelf afterwards wholly to his paſſions, changing into pride and debauch the moderation and continence for which he had hitherto been ſo greatly admired; virtues ſo very neceſſary in an exalted ſtation of life, and in the midſt of a ſeries of proſperities. He now was no longer the ſame man. Though he was invincible, with regard to the dangers and toils of war, he was far otherwiſe with reſpect to the charms of eaſe. The inſtant he enjoyed a little repoſe, he abandoned himſelf to ſenſuality; and he, whom the arms of the Perſians could not conquer, fell a victim to their vices. Nothing was now to be ſeen but games, parties of pleaſures, women, and exceſſive feaſting, in which he uſed to revel.

[a] Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 6.

* This is a Greek word ſignifying, *without breaſts*.

† *Interrito vultu regem Thaleſtris intuebatur, habitum ejus haudquaquam rerum famæ parem oculis perluſtrans. Quippe omnibus barbaris in corporum majeſtate veneratio eſt; magnorumque operum non alios capaces putant, quàm quos eximia ſpecie donare natura dignata eſt.* Q. Curt. lib. vi. cap. 5.

whole days and nights. Not ſatisfied with the buffoons, and the performers on inſtrumental muſic, whom he had brought with him out of Greece, he obliged the captive women, whom he carried along with him, to ſing ſongs after the manner of their country. He happened, among theſe women, to perceive one who appeared in deeper affliction than the reſt, and who, by a modeſt, and at the ſame time a noble confuſion, diſcovered a greater reluctance than the others, to appear in public. She was a perfect beauty, which was very much heightened by her baſhfulneſs, whilſt ſhe threw her eyes to the ground, and did all in her power to conceal her face. The king ſoon imagined by her air and mien that ſhe was not of vulgar birth; and inquiring himſelf into it, the lady anſwered, that ſhe was grand-daughter to Ochus, who not long before had ſwayed the Perſian ſceptre, and daughter of his ſon; that ſhe had married Hyſtaſpes, who was related to Darius, and general of a great army. Alexander being touched with compaſſion, when he heard the unhappy fate of a princeſs of the blood royal, and the ſad condition to which ſhe was reduced, not only gave her liberty, but returned all her poſſeſſions; and cauſed her huſband to be ſought for, in order that ſhe might be reſtored to him.

This prince was naturally of ſo tender and humane a diſpoſition, as made him ſenſible of the affliction of perſons in the loweſt condition. [t] A poor Macedonian was one day leading before him a mule, laden with gold for the king's uſe; the beaſt being ſo tired that he was not able either to go on or ſuſtain the load, the mule-driver took it up and carried it, but with great difficulty, a conſiderable way. Alexander, ſeeing him juſt ſinking under his burthen, and going to throw it on the ground, in order to eaſe himſelf, cried out, "Friend, do not be weary yet; try and carry it quite through to thy tent, for it is all thy own."

[u] Alexander, in a very difficult march through barren places, at the head of a ſmall body of horſe, when he purſued Darius, met ſome Macedonians who were carrying water in goat-ſkins upon mules. Theſe Macedonians perceiving their prince was almoſt parched with thirſt, occaſioned by the raging heat (the ſun being then at the meridian)

[t] Plut. in Alex. p. 687. [u] Ibid.

immediately filled a helmet with water, and were running to preſent him with it: Alexander aſking to whom they were carrying all that water, they replied, "We were going to carry it to our children, but do not let your majeſty be uneaſy, for if your life is but ſaved, we ſhall get children enough, in caſe we ſhould loſe theſe." At theſe words Alexander takes the helmet, and looking quite round him, he ſaw all his horſemen hanging down their heads, and with eyes fixed earneſtly on the liquor he held, ſwallow it, as it were, with their glances; upon which he returned it, with thanks, to thoſe who offered it him, and did not drink ſo much as a ſingle drop, but cried, "There is not enough for my whole company; and ſhould I drink alone, it would make the reſt be thirſtier, and they will quite die away." The officers, who were on horſeback round him, ſtruck in the moſt ſenſible manner with his wonderful temperance and magnanimity, intreated him, with ſhouts, to carry them wherever he thought fit, and not ſpare them in any manner; that now they were not in the leaſt tired, nor felt the leaſt thirſt; and that as long as they ſhould be commanded by ſuch a king, they could not think themſelves mortal men.

Such ſentiments as theſe, which ariſe from a generous and tender diſpoſition, reflect a greater honour on a prince than the greateſt victories and conqueſts. Had Alexander always cheriſhed them, he would juſtly have merited the title of *Great;* but a too glorious and uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity, which is too heavy for mortals to ſuſtain, inſenſibly effaced them from his mind, and made him forget that he was man: for now, contemning the cuſtoms of his own country, as no longer worthy the ſovereign of the univerſe, he laid aſide the dreſs, the manners, and way of life of the Macedonian monarchs; looking upon them as too plain and ſimple, and derogatory to his grandeur. He even went ſo far as to imitate the pomp of the Perſian kings, in that very circumſtance in which they ſeemed to equal themſelves to the gods; I mean, by requiring thoſe who had conquered nations to fall proſtrate at his feet, and pay him a kind of homage which became only ſlaves. He had turned his palace into a ſeraglio, filling it with three hundred and ſixty concubines, (the ſame number as Darius kept) and with bands of eunuchs, of all mankind

the moſt infamous. Not ſatisfied with wearing a Perſian robe himſelf, he alſo obliged his generals, his friends, and all the grandees of his court, to put on the ſame dreſs, which gave them the greateſt mortification, not one of them however daring to ſpeak againſt this innovation, or contradict the prince in any manner.

The veteran ſoldiers, who had fought under Philip, not having the leaſt idea of ſenſuality, inveighed publicly againſt this prodigious luxury, and the numerous vices which the army had learned in Suſa and Ecbatana. The ſoldiers would frequently expreſs themſelves in the following terms: "That "they had loſt more by victory than they had gained: that as "the Macedonians had thus aſſumed the manners and cuſtoms "of foreigners, they might properly be ſaid to be conquered. "That therefore the only benefit they ſhould reap from their "long abſence, would be, to return back into their country "in the habit of Barbarians; that Alexander was aſhamed of, "and deſpiſed them; that he choſe to reſemble the vanquiſhed "rather than the victorious; and that he, who before had been "king of Macedonia, was now become one of Darius's "lieutenants."

The king was not ignorant of the diſcontent which reigned both in his court and army, and endeavoured to recover the eſteem and friendſhip of both by his beneficence; but * ſlavery, though purchaſed at ever ſo high a rate, muſt neceſſarily be odious to freeborn men. He therefore thought, that the ſafeſt remedy would be to employ them, and for that purpoſe led them againſt Beſſus. But as the army was encumbered with booty and an uſeleſs train of baggage, that it could ſcarce move, he firſt cauſed all his own baggage to be carried into a great ſquare, and afterwards that of the army (ſuch things excepted as were abſolutely neceſſary); then ordered the whole to be carried from thence in carts to a large plain. Every one was in great pain to know the meaning of all this; but after he had ſent away the horſes, he himſelf ſet fire to his own things, and commanded every one to follow his example. Upon this the Macedonians lighted up the fire with their own hands, and burnt the rich ſpoils they had purchaſed with their blood, and often forced out of the midſt of the flames. Such a ſacrifice

* *Sed, ut opinor, liberis pretium ſervitutis ingratum eſt.* Q. CURT.

muſt certainly have been made with the utmoſt reluctance; but the example the king ſet them ſilenced all their complaints, and they ſeemed leſs affected at the loſs of their baggage, than at their neglect of military diſcipline. A ſhort ſpeech the king made, ſoothed all their uneaſineſs; and, being now more able to exert themſelves hereafter, they ſet out with joy, and marched towards Bactriana. In this march they met with difficulties which would have quite damped any one but Alexander; but nothing could daunt his ſoul, or check his progreſs; for he put the ſtrongeſt confidence in his good fortune, which indeed never forſook that hero, but extricated him from a thouſand perils, wherein one would have naturally ſuppoſed both himſelf and his army muſt have periſhed.

[x] Being arrived among the *Drangæ*, a danger to which he had not been accuſtomed, gave him very great uneaſineſs; and this was, the report of a conſpiracy that was formed againſt his perſon. One Dymnus, a man of no figure at court, was the contriver of this treaſon; and the motive of it was, ſome private diſguſt which he had received. He had communicated his execrable deſign to a young man, Nicomachus by name, who revealed it to Cebalinus, his brother. The latter immediately whiſpered it to Philotas, earneſtly entreating him to acquaint the king with it, becauſe every moment was of the utmoſt conſequence, and that the conſpirators were to execute the horrid deed in three days. Philotas, after applauding his fidelity, waited immediately upon the king, and diſcourſed on a great variety of ſubjects but without taking the leaſt notice of the plot. In the evening Cebalinus meeting him as he was coming out, and aſking whether he had done as requeſted, he anſwered, that he had not found an opportunity of mentioning it to his majeſty, and went away. The next day this young man went up to him as he was going into the palace, and conjured him not to forget what he had told him the day before. Philotas replied, that he would be ſure not to forget it; and however did not perform his promiſe. This made Cebalinus ſuſpect him; and fearing, that in caſe the conſpiracy ſhould be diſcovered by any other perſon, his ſilence would be interpreted as criminal, he therefore got another perſon to diſcloſe it to Alexander. The prince

[x] Diod. l. xvii. p. 550, 551. Q. Curt. l. vi. c. 7, 11, & l. vii. c. 1, 2. Arrian. l. iii. p. 141, 142. Plut. in Alex. p. 692, 693.

having heard the whole from Cebalinus himſelf, and told how many times he had conjured Philotas to acquaint him with it, firſt commanded Dymnus to be brought before him. The latter gueſſing upon what account he was ſent for by the king, ran himſelf through with his ſword; but the guards having prevented this wretch from completing the deed, he was carried to the palace. The king aſked him why he thought Philotas more worthy than he was of the kingdom of Macedon? but he was quite ſpeechleſs: ſo that, after fetching a deep ſigh, he turned his head aſide, and breathed his laſt.

The king afterwards ſent for Philotas, and ſpeaking to him (having firſt commanded every one to withdraw) he aſked whether Cebalinus had really urged him ſeveral times to tell him of a plot which was carrying on againſt him. Philotas, without diſcovering the leaſt confuſion in his countenance, confeſſed ingenuouſly that he had; but made his apology, by ſaying, that the perſon who had whiſpered this, did not appear to him worthy of the leaſt credit. He confeſſed, however, that Dymnus's death plainly ſhowed he had acted very imprudently, in concealing ſo long a deſign of ſo black a nature: upon which, acknowledging his fault, he fell at the king's feet: which he embraced, and beſought him to conſider his paſt life, rather than the fault he had now committed, which did not proceed from any bad deſign, but from the fear he was under of alarming, very unſeaſonably, the king, ſhould he communicate a deſign, which he really ſuppoſed was without foundation. It is no eaſy matter to ſay, whether Alexander believed what Philotas ſaid, or only diſſembled his anger. But however this be, he gave him his hand, in token of reconciliation; and told him, that he was perſuaded he had deſpiſed, rather than concealed the affair.

Philotas was both envied and hated by a great number of courtiers; and indeed it was hardly poſſible it ſhould be otherwiſe, becauſe none of them was more familiar with the king, or more eſteemed by him. Inſtead of ſoftening and moderating the luſtre of the diſtinguiſhed favour he enjoyed, by an air of ſweetneſs and humanity; he ſeemed, on the contrary, to endeavour nothing ſo much as to excite the envy of others, by affecting a ſilly pride, which generally diſplayed itſelf in his dreſs, his retinue, his equipage, and his table; and ſtill more ſo, by the haughty airs he aſſumed, which made him univerſally

hated. Parmenio, his father, diſguſted at his lofty behaviour, ſaid one day to him, * *My ſon, make thyſelf leſs.* The ſtrongeſt ſenſe is couched under theſe words; and it is evident, that the man who uttered them, was perfectly acquainted with the genius of courts. He uſed often to give Philotas advice to this effect; but too exalted a proſperity is apt to make men both deaf and blind; and they cannot perſuade themſelves, that favour, which is eſtabliſhed on ſo ſeemingly ſolid a foundation, can ever change; the contrary of which Philotas found to his ſorrow.

[y] His former conduct, with regard to Alexander, had given the latter juſt reaſon to complain of him; for he uſed to take the liberty to ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the king, and applaud himſelf in the moſt haughty terms. Opening one day his heart to a woman, Antigona by name, with whom he was in love, he began to boaſt, in a very inſolent manner, his father's ſervices and his own: "What would Philip (ſaid he) "have been, had it not been for Parmenio? and what would "Alexander be, were it not for Philotas? what would be-"come of his pretended divinity and his father Ammon, "ſhould we undertake to expoſe this fiction?" All theſe things were repeated to Alexander, and Antigona herſelf made oath, that ſuch words had been ſpoken. The king had nevertheleſs taken no notice of all this, nor ſo much as once let drop the leaſt word, which ſhowed his reſentment upon that occaſion, whenever he was moſt intoxicated with liquor; he had not ſo much as hinted it to his friends, nor even to Hephæſtion, from whom he ſcarce concealed any thing. But the crime Philotas was now accuſed of, recalled to his memory the diſguſt he had formerly entertained.

Immediately after the converſation he had with Philotas, he held a council compoſed of his chief confidents. Craterus, for whom Alexander had a great eſteem, and who envied Philotas the more upon that very account, looked upon this as a very happy occaſion for ſupplanting his rival. Concealing therefore his hatred, under a ſpecious pretence of zeal, he ſuggeſted to the king, "The apprehenſions he might juſtly be "under, both from Philotas himſelf, becauſe mercy is not "apt to work any change in a heart, which could be corrupt

[y] Plut. de Fortun. Alex. c. ii. p. 339.

* Ω παι, χειρων μοι γινου.

" enough to entertain ſo deteſtable a crime; and from Par-
" menio, his father, who, ſaid he, will never be able to bear
" the thoughts of his owing his ſon's life to the king's cle-
" mency. Some beneficial acts are ſo great, that they be-
" come a burden to thoſe on whom they are conferred, for
" which reaſon they do all in their power to eraze them from
" their memory. And further, who can aſſure us, that both
" father and ſon are not engaged in the conſpiracy? when a
" prince's life is in danger, every thing is of importance; and
" all things, even to the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions, are ſo many
" proofs. Can we conceive it poſſible, that a favourite, on
" whom his ſovereign has beſtowed the moſt ſhining marks of
" his beneficence, ſhould be calm and undiſturbed, upon his
" being told an affair of ſuch mighty importance? But we are
" told, that this deſign was communicated by young people,
" who deſerved very little credit. Wherefore then did he
" keep them in ſuſpence two days, as if he really believed
" what they told him, and ſtill promiſed them that he would
" reveal the whole affair to the king? Who does not ſee,
" that he did this merely to prevent their having acceſs by
" another way to his majeſty? Sir (continued he) it is neceſ-
" ſary, for your own ſake and that of the ſtate, for us to put
" Philotas to the torture; in order to force from his own mouth
" an account of this plot, and the ſeveral perſons who are his
" accomplices in it." This being the opinion of all the mem-
bers of the council, the king came into it. He then diſ-
miſſed the aſſembly, having firſt enjoined them ſecrecy; and
the better to conceal his reſolution, gave orders for the army's
marching the next day, and even invited Philotas to ſupper
with him.

In the beginning of the night, various parties of guards
having been poſted in the ſeveral places neceſſary, ſome en-
tered the tent of Philotas, who was then in a deep ſleep: when
ſtarting from his ſlumbers, as they were putting manacles on
his hands, he cried, " Alas! my ſovereign, the inveteracy of
" my enemies has got the better of your goodneſs." After
this, they covered his face, and brought him to the palace
without uttering a ſingle word. The next morning, the Mace-
donians, according to an order publiſhed for that purpoſe,
came thither under arms, being about ſix thouſand. It was a
very ancient cuſtom for the army, in war-time, to take cogni-

zance of capital crimes; and, in times of peace, for the people to do ſo; ſo that the prince had no power on theſe occaſions, unleſs a ſanction, were given to it by the conſent of one of theſe bodies; and the king was forced to have recourſe to * perſuaſion, before he employed his authority.

Firſt, the body of Dymnus was brought out; very few then preſent knowing either what he had done, or how he came by his death. Afterwards the king came into the aſſembly; an air of ſorrow appearing in his countenance, as well as in his whole court, every one waited with impatience the iſſue of this gloomy ſcene. Alexander continued a long time with his eyes caſt on the ground; but at laſt, having recovered his ſpirits, he made the following ſpeech: "I narrowly eſcaped, O "ſoldiers, being torn from you, by the treachery of a ſmall "number of wretches; but by the providence and mercy of "the gods, I now again appear before you alive: and I proteſt "to you, that nothing encourages me more to proceed againſt "the traitors, than the ſight of this aſſembly, whoſe lives are "much dearer to me than my own; for I deſire to live for your "ſakes only; and the greateſt happineſs I ſhould find in living "(not to ſay the only one) would be the pleaſure I ſhall re-"ceive, in having it once in my power to reward the ſervices "of ſo many brave men to whom I owe all things." Here he was interrupted by the cries and groans of the ſoldiers, who all burſt into tears. "Alas! how will you behave, when I ſhall "name the perſons who formed ſo execrable an attempt? I "myſelf cannot think of it without ſhuddering. They, on "whom I have been moſt laviſh of my kindneſſes; on whom "I had beſtowed the greateſt marks of friendſhip; in whom "I had put my whole confidence, and in whoſe breaſts I "lodged my greateſt ſecrets——Parmenio and Philotas." At theſe names all the ſoldiers gazed one upon the other, not daring to believe their eyes or ears, nor any thing they ſaw or heard. Then Nicomachus, Metron, and Cebalinus, were ſent for, who made the ſeveral depoſitions of what they knew. But as not one of them charged Philotas with engaging in the plot, the whole aſſembly, being ſeiſed with a trouble and confuſion eaſier conceived than expreſſed, continued in a ſad and gloomy ſilence.

* *Nihil poteſtas regum valebat, niſi prius valuiſſet auctoritas.* Q. Curt.

Philotas was then brought in, his hands tied behind him, and his head covered with a coarſe, worn-out piece of cloth. How ſhocking a ſight was this! Loſt to himſelf, he did not dare to look up, or open his lips; but the tears ſtreaming from his eyes, he fainted away in the arms of the man who held him. As the ſtanders by wiped off the tears in which his face was bathed, recovering his ſpirits and his voice by inſenſible degrees, he ſeemed deſirous of ſpeaking. The king then told him, that he ſhould be judged by the Macedonians, and withdrew. Philotas might have juſtified himſelf very eaſily: for not one of the witneſſes, and thoſe who had been put on the rack, had accuſed him of being an accomplice in the plot. Dymnus, who firſt formed it, had not named him to any of the conſpirators; and had Philotas been concerned in it, and the ring-leader, as was pretended, Dymnus would certainly have named him, at the head of all the reſt, in order to engage them the more ſtrongly. Had Philotas been conſcious to himſelf of guilt in this particular, as he was ſenſible that Cebalinus, who knew the whole, ſought earneſtly to acquaint the king of it, is it any ways probable, that he could have lain quiet two days together, without once endeavouring, either to diſpatch Cebalinus, or to put his dark deſign in execution? which he might very eaſily have done. Philotas ſet theſe proofs, and a great many more, in the ſtrongeſt light; and did not omit to mention the reaſons which had made him deſpiſe the information that had been given him, as groundleſs and imaginary. Then directing, on a ſudden, himſelf to Alexander, as if he had been preſent, "O king (ſays he,) whereſoever you may be," (for it is thought Alexander heard all that paſſed from behind a curtain) "if I have committed a fault in not acquainting "you with what I heard, I confeſſed it to you and you par-"doned me. You gave me your royal hand as a pledge of "this; and you did me the honour to admit me at your table. "If you believed me, I am innocent; if you pardoned me I "am cleared: I refer all this to your own judgment. What "new crime have I committed ſince? I was in a deep ſleep "when my enemies waked me, and loaded me with chains. "Is it natural for a man, who is conſcious that he is guilty "of the moſt horrid of all crimes, to be thus eaſy and un-"diſturbed? The innocence of my own conſcience and the "promiſe your majeſty made me, gave my ſoul this calm.

" Do not let the envy of my enemies prevail over your cle-
" mency and juſtice."

The reſult of this aſſembly was, that Philotas ſhould be put on the rack. The perſons who preſided on that occaſion were his moſt inveterate enemies, and they made him ſuffer every kind of torture. Philotas at firſt, diſcovered the utmoſt reſolution and ſtrength of mind; the torments he ſuffered not being able to force from him a ſingle word, nor even ſo much as a ſigh. But at laſt, conquered by pain, he confeſſed himſelf to be guilty, named ſeveral accomplices, and even accuſed his own father. The next day, the anſwers of Philotas were read in full aſſembly, he himſelf being preſent. Upon the whole, he was unanimouſly ſentenced to die; immediately after which he was ſtoned, according to the cuſtom of Macedonia, with ſome other of the conſpirators.

They alſo judged at the ſame time, and put to death, Lynceſtes Alexander, who had been found guilty of conſpiring the death of the king, and kept three years in priſon.

The condemnation of Philotas brought on that of Parmenio: whether it were that Alexander really believed him guilty, or was afraid of the father now he had put the ſon to death, Polydamus, one of the lords of the court, was appointed to ſee the execution performed. He had been one of Parmenio's moſt intimate friends, if we may give that name to courtiers, who affect only their own fortunes. This was the very reaſon of his being nominated, becauſe no one could ſuſpect that he was ſent with any ſuch orders againſt Parmenio. He therefore ſet out for Media, where that general commanded the army, and was entruſted with the king's treaſures, which amounted to an hundred and fourſcore thouſand talents, about twenty-ſeven millions ſterling. Alexander had given him ſeveral letters for Cleander the king's lieutenant in the province; and for the principal officers. Two were for Parmenio; one of them from Alexander, and the other ſealed with Philotas's ſeal, as if he had been alive, to prevent the father from harbouring the leaſt ſuſpicions. Polydamus was but eleven days in his journey, and alighted in the night-time at Cleander's. After having taken all the precautions neceſſary, they went together, with a great number of attendants to meet Parmenio, who at this time was walking in a park of his own. The moment Polydamus ſpied him, though at a great diſtance, he ran to

embrace him with an air of the utmoſt joy; and after compliments, intermixed with the ſtrongeſt indications of friendſhip, had paſſed on both ſides, he gave him Alexander's letter. In the opening it, he aſked him what the king was doing; to which Polydamus replied, that he would know by his majeſty's letter. Parmenio, after peruſing it, ſaid as follows: "The "king is preparing to march againſt the *Arachoſii*. How "glorious a prince is this, who will not ſuffer himſelf to take "a moment's reſt! However, he ought to be a little tender of "himſelf, now he has acquired ſo much glory." He afterwards opened the letter which was written in Philotas's name; and, by his countenance, ſeemed pleaſed with the contents of it. At that very inſtant Cleander thruſt a dagger into his ſide, then made another thruſt in his throat; and the reſt gave him ſeveral wounds, even after he was dead.

Thus this great man ended his life; a man illuſtrious both in peace and war; who had performed many glorious actions without the king, whereas the king had never atchieved any thing conſpicuous, but in concert with Parmenio. He was a perſon of great abilities and execution; was very dear to the grandees, and much more ſo to the officers and ſoldiers, who repoſed the higheſt confidence in him; and looked upon themſelves as aſſured of victory when he was at their head, ſo firmly they relied on his capacity and good fortune. He was then threeſcore and ten years of age; and had always ſerved his ſovereign with inviolable fidelity and zeal, for which he was very ill rewarded; his ſon and himſelf having been put to death, merely on a ſlight ſuſpicion, uninforced with any real proof, which nevertheleſs obliterated in a moment all the great ſervices both had done their country.

A. M. 3675. Ant. J. C. 329.

[z] Alexander was ſenſible, that ſuch cruel executions might alienate the affections of the troops, of which he had a proof, by the letters they ſent into Macedonia, which were intercepted by his order; concluding therefore that it would be proper for him to ſeparate, from the reſt of the army, ſuch ſoldiers as had moſt diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their murmurs and complaints, leſt their ſeditious diſcourſes ſhould ſpread the ſame ſpirit of diſcontent, he formed a ſeparate body of

[z] Arrian. l. iii. p. 143. 148. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 3—5. Diod. l. xvii. p. 552. 554.

theſe, the command of which he gave to Leonidas; this kind of ignominy being the only puniſhment he inflicted on them. But they were ſo ſtrongly affected with it, that they endeavoured to wipe out the diſgrace it brought upon them, by a bravery, a fidelity, and an obedience, which they obſerved ever afterwards.

To prevent the ill conſequences that might ariſe from this ſecret diſcontent, Alexander ſet out upon his march, and continued to purſue Beſſus; on which occaſion he expoſed himſelf to great hardſhips and dangers. After having paſſed through Drangania, Arachoſia, and the country of the Arimaſpi, where all things ſubmitted to his arms, he arrived at a mountain, called Paropamiſus (a part of Caucaſus) where his army underwent inexpreſſible fatigues, through wearineſs, thirſt, cold, and the ſnows, which killed a great number of his ſoldiers. Beſſus laid waſte all the country that lay between him and Mount Caucaſus, in order that the want of proviſions and forage might deprive Alexander of an opportunity of purſuing him. He indeed ſuffered very much, but nothing could check his vigour. After making his army repoſe for ſome time at Drapſaca, he advanced towards Aornos and Bactra, the two ſtrongeſt cities of Bactriana, and took them both. At Alexander's approach, about ſeven or eight thouſand Bactrians, who till then had adhered very firmly to Beſſus, abandoned him to a man, and retired each to his reſpective home. Beſſus, at the head of the ſmall number of forces who continued faithful to him, paſſed the river Oxus, burnt all the boats he himſelf made uſe of, to prevent Alexander from croſſing it, and withdrew to Nautacus, a city of Sogdiana, fully determined to raiſe a new army there. Alexander, however, did not give him time to do this; and not meeting with trees or timber ſufficient for the building of boats and rafts, or floats of timber, he ſupplied the want of theſe by diſtributing to his ſoldiers a great number of ſkins ſtuffed with ſtraw, and ſuch like dry and light materials; which laying under them in the water, they croſſed the river in this manner; thoſe who went over firſt, drawing up in battle-array, whilſt their comrades were coming after them. In this manner his whole army paſſed over in ſix days.

Whilſt theſe things were doing, Spitamenes, who was Beſſus's chief confident, formed a conſpiracy againſt him, in

concert with two more of his principal officers. Having ſeiſed his perſon, they put him in chains, forced his diadem from his head, tore to pieces the royal robe of Darius he had put on, and ſet him on horſeback, in order to give him up to Alexander.

That prince arrived at a little city inhabited by the *Branchidæ*. Theſe were the deſcendants of a family who had dwelt in Miletus, and Xerxes, at his return from Greece, had formerly ſent into Upper Aſia, where he had ſettled them in a very flouriſhing condition, in return for their having delivered up to him the treaſure of the temple called Didymaon, with which they had been entruſted. Theſe received the king with the higheſt demonſtrations of joy, and ſurrendered both themſelves and their city to him. Alexander ſent for ſuch Mileſians as were in his army, who preſerved an hereditary hatred againſt the *Branchidæ*, becauſe of the treachery of their anceſtors. He then left them the choice, either of revenging the injury they had formerly done them, or of pardoning them in conſideration of their common extraction. The Mileſians being ſo much divided in opinion, that they could not agree among themſelves, Alexander undertook the deciſion himſelf. Accordingly the next day he commanded his phalanx to ſurround the city; and a ſignal being given, they were ordered to plunder that abode of traitors, and put every one of them to the ſword, which inhuman order was executed with the ſame barbarity as it had been given. All the citizens, at the very time that they were going to pay homage to Alexander, were murthered in the ſtreets and in their houſes; no manner of regard being had to their cries and tears, nor the leaſt diſtinction made of age or ſex. They even pulled up the very foundations of the walls, in order that not the leaſt traces of that city might remain. But of what crimes were theſe ill-fated citizens guilty? Were they reſponſible for thoſe their fathers had committed upwards of one hundred and fifty years before? I do not know whether hiſtory furniſhes another example of ſo brutal and frantic a cruelty.

A little after Beſſus was brought to Alexander, not only bound, but ſtark naked. Spitamenes held him by a chain, which went round his neck; and it was difficult to ſay, whether that object was more agreeable to the Barbarians or the

Macedonians. In preſenting him to the king, he ſaid theſe words: "I have, at laſt, revenged both you and Darius, my "kings and maſters. I bring you a wretch who aſſaſſinated "his ſovereign, and who is now treated in the ſame manner "as himſelf gave the firſt example of. Alas! why cannot "Darius himſelf ſee this ſpectacle!" Alexander, after having greatly applauded Spitamenes, turned about to Beſſus, and ſpoke thus: "Thou ſurely muſt have been inſpired with the "rage and fury of a tyger, otherwiſe thou wouldeſt not have "dared to load a king, from whom thou hadſt received ſo "many inſtances of favour, with chains, and afterwards "murder him! Begone from my ſight, thou monſter of "cruelty and perfidiouſneſs." The king ſaid no more, but ſending for Oxatres, Darius's brother, he gave Beſſus to him, in order that he might ſuffer all the ignominy he deſerved; ſuſpending however his execution, that he might be judged in the general aſſembly of the Perſians.

SECT. XIII. *Alexander, after taking a great many cities in Bactriana, builds one near the river Iaxarthes, which he calls by his own name. The Scythians, alarmed at the building of this city, as it would be a check upon them, ſend ambaſſadors to the king, who addreſs themſelves to him with uncommon freedom. After having diſmiſſed them, he paſſes the Iaxarthes, gains a ſignal victory over the Scythians, and behaves with humanity towards the vanquiſhed. He checks and puniſhes the inſurrection of the Sogdians, ſends Beſſus to Ecbatana to be put to death, and takes the city of Petra, which was thought impregnable.*

[a] ALEXANDER, inſatiable of victory and conqueſts, ſtill marched forward in ſearch of new nations whom he might ſubdue. After recruiting his cavalry, which had ſuffered very much by their long and dangerous marches, he advanced to the * Iaxarthes.

Not far from this river the Barbarians, ruſhing ſuddenly from their mountains, came and attacked Alexander's forces,

[a] Arrian. l. iii. p. 148, 149. & l. iv. p. 150—160. Q. Curt. l. vii. c. 6—11.

* Quintus Curtius and Arrian calls it the Tanais, but they are miſtaken. The Tanais lies much more weſtward, and empties itſelf not in the Caſpian ſea, but in the Pontus Euxinus, and is now called the Don.

and having carried off a great number of priſoners, they retired to their lurking holes, in which were twenty thouſand, who fought with bows and ſlings. The king went and beſieged them in perſon, and being one of the foremoſt in the attack, he was ſhot with an arrow in the bone of his leg, and the iron point ſtuck in the wound. The Macedonians, who were greatly alarmed and afflicted, carried him off immediately, yet not ſo ſecretly, but the Barbarians knew of it; for they ſaw, from the top of the mountain, every thing that was doing below. The next day they ſent ambaſſadors to the king, who ordered them to be immediately brought in, when taking off the bandage which covered his wound, he ſhowed them his leg, but did not tell them how much he had been hurt. Theſe aſſured him, that as ſoon as they heard of his being wounded, they were as much afflicted as the Macedonians could poſſibly be; and that had it been poſſible for them to find the perſon who had ſhot that arrow, they would have delivered him up to Alexander; that none but impious wretches would wage war againſt the gods: in a word, that being vanquiſhed by his unparalleled bravery, they ſurrendered themſelves to him, with the nations who followed them. The king, having engaged his faith to them, and taken back his priſoners, accepted of their homage.

After this he ſet out upon his march, and getting into a litter, a great diſpute aroſe between the horſe and foot who ſhould carry it, each of thoſe bodies pretending that this honour belonged to them only: and there was no other way of reconciling them, but by giving orders that they ſhould carry it in their turns.

From hence he got, the fourth day, to Maracanda, a very conſiderable city, and capital of Sogdiana, which he took; and after leaving a conſiderable garriſon there, he burnt and laid waſte all the plains.

There came an embaſſy to him from the [b] Abian Scythians, who from the death of Cyrus had lived free and independent: theſe ſubmitted to Alexander. They were conſidered as the moſt equitable of all the Barbarians; never making war but to defend themſelves; and the liberty eſtabliſhed among them, and which they no ways abuſed, re-

[b] Abii Scythæ.

moved all diſtinction, and equalled the meaneſt among them with the greateſt. A love of poverty and juſtice was their peculiar characteriſtic, and enabled them to live happy together without wanting either kings or laws. Alexander received them kindly, and ſent one of his chief courtiers to take a view of their country, and even of the Scythians who inhabit beyond the Cimmerian Boſphorus.

He had marked out a ſpot of ground proper for building a city on the river Iaxarthes, in order to curb the nations he had already conquered, and thoſe he intended to ſubdue. But this deſign was retarded by the rebellion of the Sogdians, which was ſoon after followed by that of the Bactrians. Alexander diſpatched Spitamenes, who had delivered up Beſſus into his hands, believing him a very fit perſon to bring them back to their allegiance; but he himſelf had been chiefly inſtrumental in this inſurrection. The king greatly ſurpriſed at this treachery, was determined to take vengeance of him in the moſt ſignal manner. He then marched to Cyropolis, and beſieged it. This was the laſt city of the Perſian empire, and had been built by Cyrus, after whoſe name it was called. At the ſame time he ſent Craterus, with two more of his general officers, to beſiege the city of the *Memaceni*, to whom fifty troopers were ſent, to deſire them to ſue for Alexander's clemency. Theſe met with a very kind reception at firſt, but in the night-time they were all cut to pieces. Alexander had reſolved to ſpare Cyropolis, purely for the ſake of Cyrus; for, of all the monarchs who had reigned over theſe nations, there were none he admired more than this king and Semiramis, becauſe they had ſurpaſſed all the reſt in courage and glorious actions. He therefore offered very advantageous conditions to the beſieged, but they were ſo blindly obſtinate as to reject them, and that even with pride and inſolence; upon which he ſtormed their city, abandoning the plunder of it to his ſoldiers, and razed it to the very foundations. From hence he went to the other city which Craterus was beſieging. No place ever made a more vigorous defence; for Alexander loſt his beſt ſoldiers before it, and was himſelf expoſed to very great danger; a ſtone ſtriking him with ſo much violence on the head, that it deprived him of his ſenſes. The whole army indeed thought

him dead, which threw them into tears: but this prince, whom no danger or diſappointment could depreſs, puſhed on the ſiege with greater vigour than before, the inſtant he recovered, without ſtaying till his wound was healed, anger adding freſh fuel to his natural ardour. Having therefore cauſed the wall to be ſapped, he made a large breach in it, and entered the city, which he burnt to the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Several other cities met with the ſame fate. This was a third rebellion of the Sogdians, who would not be quiet, though Alexander had pardoned them twice before. They loſt above an hundred and twenty thouſand men in theſe different ſieges. The king afterwards ſent Menedemus with three thouſand foot and eight hundred horſe to Maracanda, whence Spitamenes had drove the Macedonian garriſon, and ſhut himſelf up there.

With regard to himſelf, he returned back and encamped on the Iaxarthes, where he ſurrounded with walls the whole ſpot of ground which his army had covered, and built a city on it, containing ſixty * furlongs in circumference, which he alſo called Alexandria; having before built ſeveral of that name. He cauſed the workmen to make ſuch diſpatch, that in leſs than twenty days the ramparts were raiſed, and the houſes built; and indeed there was a great emulation among the ſoldiers, who ſhould get his work done ſooneſt, every one of them having had his portion allotted him: And to people his new city, he ranſomed all the priſoners he could meet with, ſettled ſeveral Macedonians there who were worn out in the ſervice, and permitted many natives of the country, at their own requeſt, to inhabit it.

But the king of thoſe Scythians, who live on the other ſide of the Iaxarthes, ſeeing that this city, built on the river, was a kind of yoke to them, they ſent a great body of ſoldiers to demoliſh it, and to drive the Macedonians to a greater diſtance. Alexander, who had no deſign of attacking the Scythians, finding them make ſeveral incurſions, even in his ſight, in a very inſolent manner, was very much perplexed; eſpecially when advice was brought him at the ſame time, that the body of troops he had ordered to Maracanda, had been all, a very few excepted, cut to pieces. Such a num-

* Three leagues.

ber of obſtacles would have diſcouraged any one but an Alexander; for the Sogdians had taken up arms, and the Bactrians alſo; his army was haraſſed by the Scythians; he himſelf was brought ſo low, that he was not able to ſtand up-right, to mount on horſeback, to ſpeak to his forces, or give a ſingle order. To increaſe his affliction, he found his army no ways inclined to attempt the paſſage of the river in ſight of the enemy, who were drawn up in battle-array. The king continued in the utmoſt perplexity all night long; however, his courage ſurmounted all things. Being told that the auſpices were not propitious, he forced the ſoothſayers to ſubſtitute favourable ones in their ſtead. The day beginning to break, he put on his coat of mail, and ſhewed himſelf to the ſoldiers, who had not ſeen him ſince the laſt wound he had received. Theſe held the king in ſuch high veneration, that only his preſence immediately removed all their fears, ſo that they ſhed tears of joy, and went unanimouſly and paid him their reſpects; intreating him to lead them againſt the enemy, againſt whom they before had refuſed to march. They worked ſo hard at the rafts or floats, that in three days' time they had made twelve thouſand; and alſo prepared a great number of ſkins for that purpoſe.

As every thing was ready for the march, ſeveral Scythian ambaſſadors arrived, to the number of twenty, according to the cuſtom of their country, who all rode through the camp, deſiring to ſpeak with the king, Alexander having ſent for them into his tent, deſired them to ſit down. They gazed attentively upon him a long time, without ſpeaking a ſingle word, being very probably ſurprized (as they formed a judgment of men from their air and ſtature) to find that his did not anſwer the high idea they entertained of him from his fame. The oldeſt of the ambaſſadors made this ſpeech, which, as Quintus Curtius relates it, is pretty long; however, as it is very curious, I ſhall preſent my readers with the greateſt part of it.

"Had the gods given thee a body proportionable to thy "ambition, the whole univerſe would have been too little "for thee. With one hand thou wouldeſt touch the eaſt, "and with the other the weſt; and not ſatisfied with this, "thou wouldeſt follow the ſun, and know where he hides

" himſelf. Such as thou art, thou yet aſpireſt after what it " will be impoſſible for thee to attain. Thou croſſeſt over " from Europe into Aſia; and when thou ſhalt have ſubdued " all the race of men, thou then wilt make war againſt rivers, " foreſts, and wild beaſts. Doſt thou not know, that tall trees " are many years a growing, but may be tore up in an hour's " time; that the lion ſerves ſometimes for food to the ſmalleſt " birds; that iron, though ſo very hard, is conſumed by ruſt; " in a word, that there is nothing ſo ſtrong, which may not be " deſtroyed by the weakeſt thing?

" What have we to do with thee? We never ſet foot in " thy country. May not thoſe who inhabit woods, be al- " lowed to live without knowing who thou art, and whence " thou comeſt? We will neither command over, nor ſubmit " to any man. And that thou mayeſt be ſenſible what kind " of people the Scythians are, know, that we received from " heaven, as a rich preſent, a yoke of oxen, a plough-ſhare, " a dart, a javelin, and a cup. Theſe we make uſe of, both " with our friends, and againſt our enemies. To our friends " we give corn, which we procure by the labour of our oxen; " with them we offer wine to the gods in our cup: and with " regard to our enemies, we combat them at a diſtance with " our arrows, and near at hand with our javelins. * It is " with theſe we formerly conquered the moſt warlike nations, " ſubdued the moſt powerful kings, laid waſte all Aſia, and " opened ourſelves a way into the heart of Egypt.

" But thou, who boaſteſt thy coming to extirpate robbers, " thou thyſelf art the greateſt robber upon earth. Thou haſt " plundered all nations thou over-cameſt. Thou haſt poſ- " ſeſſed thyſelf of Lydia, invaded Syria, Perſia, and Bac- " triana; thou art forming a deſign to march as far as India, " and thou now comeſt hither to ſeiſe upon our herds of cattle. " The great poſſeſſions thou haſt, only make thee covet more " eagerly what thou haſt not. Doſt thou not ſee how long " the Bactrians have checked thy progreſs? Whilſt thou art

* This is to be underſtood of the famous irruption of the Scythians, who advanced as far as Egypt, and poſſeſſed themſelves of Upper Aſia, for twenty-eight years. See a preceding volume of this work, in the Hiſtory of the Aſſyrians. I have not followed Q. Curtius literally in this place, his ſenſe being pretty much embarraſſed.

" ſubduing theſe, the Sogdians revolt, and victory is to thee " only the occaſion of war.

" Paſs but the Iaxarthes, and thou wilt behold the great " extent of our plains. It will be in vain for thee to purſue " the Scythians: and I defy thee ever to overtake them. Our " poverty will be more active than thy army, laden with the " ſpoils of ſo many nations; and, when thou ſhalt fancy us " at a great diſtance, thou wilt ſee us ruſh ſuddenly on thy " camp; for we purſue, and fly from our enemies, with equal " ſpeed. I am informed that the Greeks ſpeak jeſtingly of " the Scythian ſolitudes, and that they are even become a " proverb; but we are fonder of our deſarts, than of thy " great cities and fruitful plains. Let me obſerve to thee, " that fortune is ſlippery; hold her faſt therefore, for fear ſhe " ſhould eſcape thee. Put a curb to thy felicity, if thou " deſireſt to continue in poſſeſſion of it.

" If thou art a god, thou oughteſt to do good to mortals, " and not deprive them of their poſſeſſions: if thou art a " mere man, reflect always on what thou art. They whom " thou ſhalt not moleſt, will be thy true friends; the ſtrongeſt " friendſhips being contracted between equals; and they are " eſteemed equals, who have not tried their ſtrength againſt " each other: but do not imagine, that thoſe whom thou con- " quereſt can love thee; for there is no ſuch thing as friend- " ſhip between a maſter and his ſlave, and a forced peace is " ſoon followed by a war.

" To conclude, * do not fancy that the Scythians will take " an oath in their concluding an alliance. The only oath " among them, is to keep their word without ſwearing. Such " cautions as theſe do indeed become Greeks, who ſign their " treaties, and call upon the gods to witneſs them; but, with " regard to us, our religion conſiſts in being ſincere, and in " keeping the promiſes we have made. That man who is not " aſhamed to break his word with men, is not aſhamed of de- " ceiving the gods; and of what uſe could friends be to thee " whom thou couldeſt not truſt? Conſider that we will guard " both Europe and Aſia for thee. We extend as far as " Thrace, and we are told, that this country is contiguous to

* *Jurando gratiam Scythas ſancire ne credideris: colendo fidem jurant. Græcorum iſta cautio eſt, qui acta conſignat, & deos invocant: nos religionem in ipſa fide novimus. Qui non reverentur homines, fallunt deos.* Q. CURT.

" Macedonia. The river Iaxarthes only divides us from Bac-
" triana. Thus we are thy neighbours on both ſides. Con-
" ſider, therefore, whether thou wilt have us for friends, or enemies."

The Barbarian ſpoke thus: to whom the king made but a very ſhort anſwer; " That he would take advantage both of his own good fortune, and of their counſel; of his good fortune, by ſtill continuing to rely upon it; and of their counſel, by not attempting any thing raſhly." Having diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, his army embarked on the rafts, which by this time were got ready. In the front, he placed ſuch as carried bucklers, and made them kneel down, the better to ſecure themſelves from the arrows of the enemy. Behind theſe were thoſe who worked the machines for diſcharging arrows and ſtones, covered on all ſides with ſoldiers armed cap-a-pee. The reſt who followed the engines, had their ſhields fixed together over their heads, in form of a tortoiſe, by which they defended the ſailors who wore corſlets. The like order and diſpoſition was obſerved in the other rafts or floats which carried the horſe.

The army found great difficulty in croſſing. Every thing conſpired to intimidate them; the clamour and confuſion, that are inſeparable from ſuch an enterprize; the rapidity of the ſtream, which carried away every thing with it; and the ſight of a numerous army drawn up in battle-array, on the oppoſite ſhore. However, the preſence of Alexander, who was ever the foremoſt in encountering dangers, made them neglect their own ſafety, and be concerned for his only. As ſoon as the Macedonians began to draw near the ſhore, they who carried ſhields roſe up together, when throwing their javelins with a ſtrong arm, every weapon did execution. When they perceived that the enemy, overpowered with that ſhower of ſhafts, began to retire, and draw their horſes back, they leaped on the ſhore with incredible ſwiftneſs, and, animating one another, began the charge with vigour. In this diſorder, the troopers, whoſe horſes were ready bridled, ruſhed upon the enemy, and quite broke them. The king could not be heard, by reaſon of the faintneſs of his voice; but the example he ſet, ſpoke for him.

And now nothing was heard in the Macedonian army, but ſhouts of joy and victory, whilſt they continued to attack the

Barbarians with the utmoſt fury. The latter not being able to ſtand ſo fierce an onſet, fled as faſt as their horſes could carry them; for theſe were the cavalry only. Though the king was very weak, he nevertheleſs purſued them briſkly a long way, till being at laſt quite ſpent, he was obliged to ſtop. After commanding his troops to purſue them as long as they could ſee, he withdrew to the camp, in order to repoſe himſelf, and to wait the return of his forces. The Macedonians had already gone beyond the boundaries or limits of Bacchus, which were marked out by great ſtones ranged pretty cloſe one to the other, and by great trees, the trunks of which were covered with ivy. However, the heat of the purſuit carried them ſtill farther, and they did not return back into the camp, till after midnight; having killed a great number of the enemy, and taken many more priſoners, with eighteen hundred horſes, all which they drove before them. On Alexander's ſide there were but ſixty troopers ſlain, and about an hundred foot, with a thouſand wounded. Alexander ſent back to the Scythians all their priſoners without ranſom, to ſhow, that not animoſity, but a thirſt of glory, had prompted him to make war againſt ſo valiant a nation.

The report of this victory, and much more the clemency with which the king treated the vanquiſhed, greatly increaſed his reputation. The Scythians had always been conſidered as invincible; but after their defeat, it was owned, that every nation in the world ought to yield to the Macedonians. The *Sacæ*, who were a powerful nation, ſent an embaſſy to Alexander, by which they ſubmitted themſelves to him, and requeſted his friendſhip. The Scythians themſelves made an apology by their ambaſſadors; throwing the whole blame of what had happened on ſome few people, and declaring that they were ready to obey all the commands of the victorious prince.

Alexander, being ſo happily freed from the care and trouble of this important war, bent his whole thoughts on Maracanda, in which the traitor Spitamenes had fortified himſelf. At the firſt news of Alexander's approach, he had fled away, and withdrawn into Bactriana. The king purſued him thither, but deſpairing to come up with him, he returned back and ſacked Sogdiana, which is watered by the river Polytimetus.

Among the Sogdians that were taken priſoners, there were

thirty young men, who were well-ſhaped and very comely, and the greateſt lords of the country. Theſe being told, that they were led to execution by Alexander's command, began to ſing ſongs of joy, to leap and dance, diſcovering all the indications of an immoderate joy. The king, ſurpriſed to ſee them go to death with ſo much gaiety, had them brought before him; when he aſked them, how they came to break into ſuch tranſports of joy, when they ſaw death before their eyes? They anſwered, that they ſhould have been afflicted, had any other perſon but himſelf put them to death; but as they would be reſtored to their anceſtors by the command of ſo great a monarch, who had vanquiſhed all nations, they bleſſed this death; a death ſo glorious that the braveſt men would wiſh to die the ſame. Alexander, admiring their magnanimity, aſked whether they would deſire to be pardoned, upon condition that they ſhould no longer be his enemies? They anſwered, he might be aſſured they had never been his enemies; but that, as he had attacked them, they had defended themſelves; and that, had they been applied to in a gentle manner, and not attacked by force and violence, they would have vied with him in politeneſs and generoſity. The king aſked them further, what pledges they would give him of their faith and ſincerity? "No other (anſwered they) but the ſame "life we receive from your goodneſs, and which we ſhall al-"ways be ready to give back, whenever you ſhall require it." And, indeed, they were as good as their word. Four of them, whom he took into his body-guard, endeavoured to rival the Macedonians in zeal and fidelity.

The king, after having left a ſmall number of forces in Sogdiana, marched to Bactria, where, having aſſembled all his generals, he commanded Beſſus to be brought before them; when, after reproaching him for his treachery, and cauſing his noſe and ears to be cut off, he ſent him to Ecbatana, there to ſuffer whatever puniſhment Darius's mother ſhould think proper to inflict upon him. Plutarch has left us an account of this execution. Four trees were bent, by main force, one towards the other; and to each of theſe trees one of the limbs of this traitor's body was faſtened. Afterwards, theſe trees being let return to their natural poſition, they flew back with ſo much violence, that each tore away the limb that was fixed to it, and ſo quartered him. The ſame puniſhment is at this

day inflicted on perſons convicted of high-treaſon, who are tore to pieces by four horſes.

Alexander received at this time, both from Macedonia and Greece, a large number of recruits, amounting to upwards of ſixteen thouſand men. By this conſiderable re-inforcement, he was enabled to ſubdue all thoſe who had rebelled; and to curb them for the future, he built ſeveral fortreſſes in Margiana.

All things were now reſtored to a profound tranquillity. There remained but one ſtrong hold, called *Petra Oxiana*, or the rock of Oxus, which was defended by Arimazes, a native of Sogdiana, with thirty thouſand ſoldiers under his command, and ammunition and proviſions for two years. This rock, which was very high and craggy on all ſides, was acceſſible only by a ſingle path that was cut in it. The king, after viewing its works, was a long time in ſuſpenſe whether he ſhould beſiege it; but, as it was his character to aim at the marvellous in all things, and to attempt impoſſibilities, he reſolved to try if he could not overcome, on this occaſion, nature itſelf, which ſeemed to have fortified this rock in ſuch a manner as had rendered it abſolutely impregnable. However, before he formed the ſiege, he ſummoned thoſe Barbarians, but in mild terms, to ſubmit to him. Arimazes received this offer in a very haughty manner; and after uſing ſeveral inſulting expreſſions, aſked, "whether Alexander, "who was able to do all things, could fly alſo; and whether "nature had, on a ſudden, given him wings?" A. M. 3676. Ant. J. C. 328.

Alexander was highly exaſperated at this anſwer. He therefore gave orders for ſelecting, from among the mountaineers who were in his army, three hundred of the moſt active and dextrous. Theſe being brought to him, he addreſſed them thus: "It was in your company, brave young men, that I "ſtormed ſuch places as were thought impregnable; that I "made my way over mountains covered with eternal ſnows; "croſſed rivers, and broke through the paſſes of Cilicia. This "rock, which you ſee, has but one outlet, which alone is de-"fended by the Barbarians, who neglect every other part. "There is no watch or centinel, except on that ſide which "faces our camp. If you ſearch very narrowly, you cer-"tainly will meet with ſome path that leads to the top of "the rock. Nothing has been made ſo inacceſſible by nature,

" as not be ſurmounted by valour; and it was only by our " attempting, what no one before had hopes of effecting, that " we poſſeſſed ourſelves of Aſia. Get up to the ſummit, and " when you ſhall have made yourſelves maſters of it, ſet up a " white ſtandard there as a ſignal; and be aſſured, that I then " will certainly diſengage you from the enemy, and draw " them upon myſelf, by making a diverſion." At the ſame time that the king gave out this order, he made them the moſt noble promiſes; but the pleaſing him, was conſidered by them as the greateſt of all rewards. Fired therefore with the moſt noble ardour, and fancying they had already reached the ſummit, they ſet out, after having provided themſelves with wedges to drive into the ſtones, cramp-irons, and thick ropes.

The king went round the mountain with them, and commanded them to begin their march * at the ſecond watch of the night, by that part which ſhould ſeem to them of eaſieſt acceſs; beſeeching the gods to guide their ſteps. They then took proviſions for two days; and being armed with ſwords and javelins only, they began to aſcend the mountain, walking ſome time on foot; afterwards, when it was neceſſary for them to climb, ſome forced their wedges into the ſtones which projected forwards, and by that means raiſed themſelves; others thruſt their cramp-irons into the ſtones that were frozen, to keep themſelves from falling in ſo ſlippery a way; in fine, others driving in their wedges with great ſtrength, made them ſerve as ſo many ſcaling-ladders. They ſpent the whole day in this manner, hanging againſt the rock, and expoſed to numerous dangers and difficulties, being obliged to ſtruggle at the ſame time with ſnow, cold, and wind. Nevertheleſs, the hardeſt taſk was yet to come; and the farther they advanced, the higher the rock ſeemed to riſe. But that which terrified them moſt, was the ſad ſpectacle of ſome of their comrades falling down precipices, whoſe unhappy fate was a warning to them of what they themſelves might expect. Notwithſtanding this, they ſtill advanced forward, and exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that, in ſpite of all theſe difficulties, they at laſt got to the top of the rock. They then were all inexpreſſibly weary, and many of them

* About ten o'clock.

had even loſt the uſe of ſome of their limbs. Night and drowſineſs came upon them at the ſame time, ſo that, diſperſing themſelves in ſuch diſtant parts of the rock as were free from ſnows, they laid down in them, and ſlept till day-break. At laſt waking from a deep ſleep, and looking on all ſides to diſcover the place where ſo many people could lie hid, they ſaw ſmoke below them, which ſhewed them the haunt of the enemy. They then put up the ſignal, as had been agreed; and their whole company drawing up, thirty-two were found wanting, who had loſt their lives in the aſcent.

In the mean time the king, equally fired with a deſire of ſtorming the fortreſs, and ſtruck with the viſible dangers to which thoſe men were expoſed, continued on foot the whole day, gazing upon the rock, and he himſelf did not retire to reſt till dark night. The next morning, by peep of day he was the firſt who perceived the ſignal. Nevertheleſs he was ſtill in doubt whether he might truſt his eyes, becauſe of the falſe ſplendour which breaks out at day-break; but the light increaſing, he was ſure of what he ſaw. Sending therefore for Cophes, who before, by his command, had ſounded the Barbarians, he diſpatched him a ſecond time, with an exhortation to think better of the matter; and in caſe they ſhould ſtill depend upon the ſtrength of the place, he then was ordered to ſhow them the band of men behind their backs, who were got to the ſummit of the rock. Cophes employed all the arguments poſſible, to engage Arimazes to capitulate; repreſenting to him, that he would gain the king's favour, in caſe he did not interrupt the great deſigns he meditated, by obliging him to make ſome ſtay before that rock. Arimazes ſent a haughtier and more inſolent anſwer than before, and commanded him to retire. Then Cophes taking him by the hand, deſired he would come out of the cave with him, which the Barbarian doing, he ſhowed him the Macedonians poſted over his head, and ſaid in an inſulting tone of voice, "You ſee that Alexander's ſoldiers have wings." In the mean time the trumpets were heard to ſound in every part of the Macedonian camp, and the whole army ſhouted aloud, and cried, Victory! Theſe things though of little conſequence in themſelves, did nevertheleſs, as often happens, throw the Barbarians into ſo great a conſternation, that without once reflecting how few were got to the ſummit, they thought themſelves

loſt. Upon this, Cophes was recalled, and thirty of the chiefs among the Barbarians were ſent back with him, who agreed to ſurrender up the place, upon condition that their lives might be ſpared. The king, notwithſtanding the ſtrong oppoſition he might meet with, was however ſo exaſperated at the haughtineſs of Arimazes, that he refuſed to grant them any terms of capitulation. A blind and raſh confidence in his own good fortune, which had never failed him, made him inſenſible to every danger. Arimazes, on the other ſide, blinded by fear, and concluding himſelf abſolutely loſt, came down with his relations and the principal nobility of the country, into Alexander's camp. But this prince, who was not maſter of his anger, forgetting what the faith of treaty and humanity required on this occaſion, cauſed them all to be ſcourged with rods, and afterwards to be fixed to croſſes, at the foot of the ſame rock. The multitudes of people who ſurrendered, with all the booty, were given to the inhabitants of the cities which had been newly founded in thoſe parts; and Artabazus was left governor of the rock and the whole province round it.

SECT. XIV. *The death of Clitus. Several expeditions of Alexander. He commands worſhip to be paid to himſelf, after the manner of the Perſians. Diſcontents ariſe among the Macedonians. Death of Calliſthenes the Philoſopher.*

ALEXANDER having ſubdued the Maſſagetæ and the Dahæ, entered Bazaria. In this province are a great number of large parks ſtocked with deer. Here the king took the diverſion of hunting, in which he was expoſed to very great peril; for a lion of an enormous ſize advanced directly to him, but he killed him with a ſingle thruſt. Although Alexander came off victorious on this occaſion, yet the Macedonians, alarmed at the danger he had run, and the whole army in his perſon, gave orders, purſuant to the cuſtom of their country, that the king ſhould go no more a hunting on foot, without being attended by ſome of his courtiers and officers. They were ſenſible, that a king is not born for his

[c] Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 1—8. Arrian. l. iv. p. 161—171. Plut. in Alex. p. 693—696. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 6—7.

own ſake, but for that of his ſubjects; that he ought to be careful of his own perſon for their ſakes, and reſerve his courage for other dangers; and that the being famous for killing beaſts (a reputation unworthy of a great prince) ought not to be purchaſed ſo dear.

From hence he advanced to Maracanda, where he quelled ſome tumults which had broke out in that country. Artabazus requeſting to be diſcharged from the government of that province, by reaſon of his great age, he appointed Clitus his ſucceſſor. He was an old officer, who had fought under Philip, and ſignaliſed himſelf on many occaſions. At the battle of the Granicus, as Alexander was fighting bare-headed, and Roſaces had his arm raiſed, in order to ſtrike him behind, he covered the king with his ſhield, and cut off the Barbarian's hand. Hellanice, his ſiſter, had nurſed Alexander; and he loved her with as much tenderneſs as if ſhe had been his own mother. As the king, from theſe ſeveral conſiderations had very great reſpect for Clitus, he entruſted him with the government of one of the moſt important provinces of his empire, and ordered him to ſet out the next day.

Before his departure, Clitus was invited in the evening to an entertainment, in which the king, * after drinking immoderately, began to celebrate his own exploits; and was ſo exceſſively laviſh of ſelf-commendation, that he even ſhocked thoſe very perſons who knew that he ſpoke truth. However, the oldeſt men in the company held their peace, till beginning to depreciate the warlike acts of Philip, he boaſted, "That "the famous victory of Chæronea was won by his means; "and that the glory of ſo immortal a battle had been torn "from him by the malice and jealouſy of his father. That in "the † inſurrection which broke out between the Macedo-"nians and mercenary Greeks, Philip, fainting away after the "wounds he had received in that tumult, had laid himſelf on "the ground; and could not think of a better method to ſave "himſelf, than by lying along as dead; that on this occaſion "he had covered him with his ſhield, and killed with his "own hands thoſe who attempted to fall upon him; but that "his father could never prevail upon himſelf to confeſs this

* *In quo Rex, cùm multo incaluiſſet mero, immodicus æſtimator ſui, celebrare quæ geſſerat cœpit: gravis etiam eorum auribus, qui ſentiebant vera memorari.* Q. Curt.

† This ſedition is not mentioned in any other place.

" circumſtance ingenuouſly, being vexed that he owed his " life to his own ſon. That in the war againſt the Illyrians, " he was the only perſon who had done any thing, Philip " having had no manner of ſhare in it; and hearing of the " defeat of the enemy, no otherwiſe than by the letters he " ſent him. That the perſons worthy of praiſe, were not " ſuch as initiated themſelves in the * myſteries of the Samo- " thracians, when they ought to have laid waſte all Aſia with " fire and ſword, but thoſe who had achieved ſuch mighty ex- " ploits as ſurpaſſed all belief."

Theſe and the like diſcourſes were very pleaſing to the young men, but were very ſhocking to thoſe advanced in years; eſpecially for Philip's ſake, under whom they had fought many years. Clitus, who alſo was intoxicated, turning about to thoſe who ſat below him at table, quoted to them a paſſage from † Euripides, but in ſuch a manner that the king could only hear his voice, and not the words diſtinctly. The ſenſe of this paſſage was, " That the Greeks had done very wrong in " ordaining, that in the inſcriptions engraved on trophies, " the names of kings only ſhould be mentioned; ‡ becauſe, " by theſe means, brave men were robbed of the glory they " had purchaſed with their blood." The king, ſuſpecting Clitus had let drop ſome diſobliging expreſſions, aſked thoſe who ſat neareſt him, what he had ſaid? As no one anſwered, Clitus, raiſing his voice by degrees, began to relate the actions of Philip, and his wars in Greece, preferring them to whatever was doing at that time; which created a great diſpute between the young and old men. Though the king was prodigiouſly vexed in his mind, he nevertheleſs ſtifled his reſentment, and ſeemed to liſten very patiently to all Clitus ſpoke to his prejudice. It is probable he would have quite ſuppreſſed his paſſion, had Clitus ſtopped there; but the latter growing more and more inſolent, as if determined to exaſperate and inſult the king, went ſuch lengths, as to defend Parmenio publicly; and to aſſert, that the deſtroying of Thebes was but trifling in compariſon of the victory which Philip had gained

* It was uſual for generals, before they ſet out on their expeditions, to cauſe themſelves to be initiated in theſe myſteries, and offer ſacrifices to the gods who preſided in them. Poſſibly Philip, by obſerving this ceremony, had delayed ſome enterpriſe. † In his Andromache.

‡ *Alieno enim ſanguine partam gloriam intercipi.* Q. CURT.

over the Athenians; and that the old Macedonians, though ſometimes unſucceſsful, were greatly ſuperior to thoſe who were ſo raſh as to deſpiſe them.

Alexander telling him, that in giving cowardice the name of ill ſucceſs, he was pleading his own cauſe; Clitus riſes up, with his eyes ſparkling with wine and anger; "It is never-"theleſs this hand (ſaid he to him, extending it at the ſame "time) that ſaved your life at the battle of the Granicus. "It is the blood and wounds of theſe very Macedonians, who "are accuſed of cowardice, that raiſed you to this grandeur. "But the tragical end of Parmenio ſhows, what reward they "and myſelf may expect for all our ſervices." This laſt reproach ſtung Alexander: however, he ſtill reſtrained his paſſion, and only commanded him to leave the table. "He is "in the right (ſays Clitus, as he roſe up) not to bear freeborn "men at his table, who can only tell him truth. He will do "well to paſs his life among Barbarians and ſlaves, who will "be proud to pay their adoration to his Perſian girdle and his "white robe." But now the king, no longer able to ſuppreſs his rage, ſnatched a javelin from one of his guards, and would have killed Clitus on the ſpot, had not the courtiers withheld his arm, and Clitus been forced, but with great difficulty, out of the hall. However, he returned into it that moment by another door, ſinging, with an air of inſolence, verſes reflecting highly on the prince, who ſeeing the general near him, ſtruck him with his javelin, and laid him dead at his feet, crying out at the ſame time, "Go now to Philip, to Parmenio, and to Attalus."

The king's anger being in a manner extinguiſhed on a ſudden in the blood of Clitus, his crime diſplayed itſelf to him in its blackeſt and moſt dreadful light. He had murdered a man, who indeed abuſed his patience, but then he had always ſerved him with the utmoſt zeal and fidelity, and ſaved his life, though he was aſhamed to own it. He had that inſtant performed the vile office of an executioner, in puniſhing, by an horrid murder, the uttering of ſome indiſcreet words, which might be imputed to the fumes of wine. With what face could he appear before the ſiſter of Clitus, his nurſe, and offer her a hand imbrued in her brother's blood? Upon this he threw himſelf on his friend's body, forced out the javelin, and would have diſpatched himſelf with it, had not

the guards, who ruſhed in upon him, laid hold of his hands, and forcibly carried him into his own apartment.

He paſſed that night and the next day in tears. After that groans and lamentations had quite waſted his ſpirits, he continued ſpeechleſs, ſtretched on the ground, and only venting deep ſighs. But his friends, fearing his ſilence would be fatal, forced themſelves into his chamber. The king took very little notice of the words that were employed to comfort him; but Ariſtander the ſoothſayer, putting him in mind of a dream, in which he had imagined he ſaw Clitus, clothed in a black robe, and ſeated at table; and declaring, that all which had then happened, was appointed by the eternal decree of fate, Alexander appeared a little eaſier in his mind. He next was addreſſed by two philoſophers, Calliſthenes and Anaxarchus. The former went up to him with an air of humanity and tenderneſs, and endeavoured to ſuppreſs his grief, by agreeably inſinuating himſelf, and endeavoured to make him recall his reaſon, by reflections of a ſolid nature, drawn from the very eſſence of philoſophy, and by carefully ſhunning all ſuch expreſſions as might renew his affliction, and fret a wound, which, as it was ſtill bleeding, required to be touched with the gentleſt hand. But Anaxarchus did not obſerve this decorum; for the moment he entered, he cried aloud, "How! is this Alexander, on whom the eyes of the whole world are fixed? Behold him here extended on the floor, ſhedding floods of tears, like the meaneſt ſlave! Does not he know, that he himſelf is a ſupreme law to his ſubjects; that he conquered merely to raiſe himſelf to the exalted dignity of lord and ſovereign, and not to ſubject himſelf to a vain opinion?" The king was determined to ſtarve himſelf; ſo that it was with the utmoſt difficulty that his friends prevailed with him to take a little ſuſtenance. The Macedonians declared by a decree, that Clitus had been very juſtly killed; to which decree Anaxarchus the philoſopher had given occaſion, by aſſerting, that the will of princes is the ſupreme law of the ſtate. Alas! how weak are all ſuch reflections againſt the cries of a juſtly-alarmed conſcience, which can never be quieted, either by flattery or falſe arguments!

It muſt be confeſſed, that Clitus had committed a great and inexcuſable fault. It was indeed his duty, not to join in diſcourſes calculated to ſully the glory of Philip his benefactor; but to ſhow his diſlike of what was ſaid, by a mournful but

modeſt ſilence. He poſſibly might have been allowed to ſpeak in favour of the late monarch, provided he had expreſſed himſelf with prudence and moderation. Had ſuch a reſervedneſs been unſucceſsful, he might juſtly have merited pity, and would not have been criminal. But by breaking into injurious and ſhocking reproaches, he quite forgot the veneration due to the ſacred character of kings; with regard to whom, how unjuſtly ſoever they may act, not only every contemptuous and inſulting expreſſion is forbid, but every diſreſpectful and unguarded word; they being the repreſentatives of God himſelf.

It muſt nevertheleſs be confeſſed, that the circumſtance of the banquet extenuates very much, or throws, in ſome meaſure, a veil over Clitus's fault. When a prince invites a ſubject to a feaſt; when he makes him the companion of debauch, and in perſon excites him to quaff immoderately; a king on ſuch an occaſion, ſeems to forget his dignity, and to permit his ſubjects to forget it alſo; he gives a ſanction, as it were, to the liberties, familiarities, and ſudden flights which wine commonly inſpires: and ſhould he be diſpleaſed with a ſubject for equalling himſelf with him, he ought to blame himſelf, for having firſt raiſed a ſubject ſo high. A fault committed under theſe circumſtances, is always a fault; but then it ought never to be expiated with the blood of the offender.

A certain author compares * anger, when united to power, with thunder; and, indeed, what havoc does it not then make? But how dreadful muſt it be, when joined with drunkenneſs! We ſee this in Alexander. How unhappy was that prince, not to have endeavoured to ſubdue thoſe two vices in his youth: † and to have been confirmed in them, from the example of one of his tutors? For it is aſſerted, that both were the conſequences of his education. But what can be meaner, or more unworthy a king, than drinking to exceſs? What can be more fatal or bloody, than the tranſ-

* *Fulmen eſt, ubi cum poteſtate habitat iracundia.* PUBL. SYR.

† *Nec minùs error eorum nocet moribus, ſi quidem Leonides Alexandri pædagogus, ut à Babylonio Diogene traditur, quibuſdam eum vitiis imbuit, quæ robuſtum quoque & jam maximum regem ab illa inſtitutione puerili ſunt proſecuta.* QUINTIL. l. i. c. 1.

ports of anger? * Alexander, who had overcome ſo many nations, was himſelf conquered by thoſe two vices, which throw a ſhade over the glory of his brighteſt actions. The reaſon of this, ſays Seneca, is, he endeavoured more to vanquiſh others, than to ſubdue himſelf; not knowing, that to triumph over our paſſions is, of all conqueſts, the moſt glorious.

Alexander, after continuing ten days in Maracanda, in order to recover his ſpirits, marched into the Xenippa, a province bordering upon Scythia; whither ſome rebels were retired, all whom he ſubjected, and gave them a free pardon. From thence he ſet forward with his army towards the rock Chorienſis, of which Syſimethres was governor. All acceſs to it ſeemed abſolutely impracticable; nevertheleſs, he at laſt got near it, after having paſſed through numberleſs difficulties, and, by the mediation of Oxartes, a prince of that country who had adhered to Alexander, he prevailed with Syſimethres to ſurrender. The king after this left him the government of that place, and promiſed him very great advantages in caſe he continued faithful.

Alexander had reſolved to attack the *Dahæ*, becauſe Spitamenes, the chief of the rebels, was among them; but the felicity which always attended him, ſpared him that labour. The wife of this Barbarian, being no longer able to bear the vagabond, wretched life her huſband had forced her to lead, and having often intreated him, but in vain, to ſurrender himſelf to the conqueror, ſhe herſelf murthered him in the night; and, quite covered with his blood, went and carried his head to the king. Alexander was ſhocked at ſo horrid a ſpectacle, and ordered her to be driven ignominiouſly from the camp.

Alexander, after having drawn his army out of the garriſons, where they had wintered three months, marched towards a country called Gabaza. In his way he met with a dreadful ſtorm. Flaſhes of lightning coming thick one upon the other, dazzled the eyes of the ſoldiers, and entirely diſcouraged them. It thundered almoſt inceſſantly, and the thunder-bolts fell every moment at the feet of the ſoldiers; ſo that

* *Victor tot regum atque populorum, iræ ſuccubuit. Id enim egerat, ut omnia potius haberet in poteſtate, quàm affectus—Imperare ſibi, maximum imperium eſt.* Senec. Epiſt. cxiii.

they did not dare either to ſtand ſtill or advance forward. On a ſudden, a violent ſhower of rain, mixed with hail, came pouring down like a flood; and ſo extreme was the cold in this country, that it froze the rain as ſoon as it fell. The ſufferings of the army on this occaſion were inſupportable. The king, who was the only perſon invincible to theſe calamities, rode up and down among the ſoldiers; comforted and animated them; and pointing at ſmoke which iſſued from ſome diſtant huts, intreated them to march to them with all the ſpeed poſſible. Having given orders for the felling of a great number of trees, and laying them in heaps up and down, he had fires made in different places, and by this means ſaved the army, but upwards of a thouſand men loſt their lives. The king made up to the officers and ſoldiers the ſeveral loſſes they had ſuſtained during this fatal ſtorm.

When they were recovered ſo well as to be able to march, he went into the country of the *Sacæ*, which he ſoon overrun and laid waſte. Soon after this, Oxartes received him in his palace, and invited him to a ſumptuous banquet, in which he diſplayed all the magnificence of the Barbarians. He had a daughter, called Roxana, a young lady whoſe exquiſite beauty was heightened by all the charms of wit and good ſenſe. Alexander found her charms irreſiſtible, and made her his wife; covering his paſſion with the ſpecious pretence, of uniting the two nations in ſuch bands as ſhould improve their mutual harmony, by blending their intereſts, and throwing down all diſtinctions between the conquerors and the conquered. This marriage diſpleaſed the Macedonians very much, and exaſperated his chief courtiers, to ſee him make one of his ſlaves his father-in-law: but as, * after his murdering Clitus, no one dared to ſpeak to him with freedom, they applauded what he did with their eyes and countenances, which can adapt themſelves wonderfully to flattery and ſervile complacency.

In fine; having reſolved to march into India, and embark from thence on the ocean, he commanded, (in order that nothing might be left behind to check his deſigns) that thirty thouſand young men ſhould be brought him, all completely

* *Sed, poſt Clyti cædem, libertate ſublata, vultu, qui maximè ſervit, aſſentiebantur.* Q. CURT.

armed, out of the ſeveral provinces, to ſerve him at the ſame time as hoſtages and ſoldiers. In the mean while, he ſent Craterus againſt ſome of the rebels, whom he eaſily defeated. Polyſperchon likewiſe ſubdued a country called Bubacene; ſo that all things being in perfect tranquillity, Alexander bent his whole thoughts to the carrying on war with India. This country was conſidered as the richeſt in the world, not only in gold, but in pearls and precious ſtones, with which the inhabitants adorn themſelves, but with more luxury than gracefulneſs. It was related, that the ſwords of the ſoldiers were of gold and ivory; and the king, now the greateſt monarch in the world, being determined not to yield to any perſon whatſoever, in any circumſtance, cauſed the ſwords of his ſoldiers to be ſet off with ſilver plates, put golden bridles to the horſes, had the coats of mail heightened with gold and ſilver, and prepared to march for this enterpriſe, at the head of an hundred and twenty thouſand men, all equipped with the magnificence above deſcribed.

All things being ready for their ſetting out, he thought proper to reveal the deſign he had ſo long meditated, *viz.* to have divine honours paid him; and was ſolely intent on the means for putting that deſign in execution. He was reſolved, not only to be called, but to be believed, the ſon of Jupiter; as if it had been poſſible for him to command as abſolutely over the mind as over the tongue, and that the Macedonians, would condeſcend to fall proſtrate, and adore him after the Perſian manner.

To * ſooth and cheriſh theſe ridiculous pretenſions, there were not wanting flatterers, thoſe common peſts of courts, who are more dangerous to princes than the arms of their enemies. The Macedonians, indeed, would not ſtoop to this baſe adulation; all of them, to a man, refuſing to vary, in any manner, from the cuſtoms of their country. The whole evil was owing to ſome Greeks, whoſe depraved manners were a ſcandal to their profeſſion of teaching virtue and the ſciences. Theſe, though the mean refuſe of Greece, were nevertheleſs in greater credit with the king, than either the princes of his blood, or the generals of his army: it was ſuch creatures as

* *Non deerat talia concupiſcenti pernicioſa adulatio, perpetuum malum regum' quorum opes ſæpius aſſentatio, quàm hoſtis, evertit.* Q. CURT.

theſe that placed him in the ſkies; and publiſhed, wherever they came, that Hercules, Bacchus, Caſtor and Pollux, would reſign their ſeats to this new deity.

He therefore appointed a feſtival, and made an incredibly pompous banquet, to which he invited the greateſt lords of his court, both Macedonians and Greeks, and moſt of the higheſt quality among the Perſians. With theſe he ſat down at table for ſome time, after which he withdrew. Upon this Cleon, one of his flatterers, began to ſpeak, and expatiated very much on the praiſes of the king, as had before been agreed upon. He made a long detail of the high obligations they had to him, all which (he obſerved) they might acknowledge and repay at a very eaſy expence, merely with two grains of incenſe, which they ſhould offer him as to a god, without the leaſt ſcruple, ſince they believed him ſuch. To this purpoſe he cited the example of the Perſians. He took notice, that Hercules himſelf, and Bacchus, were not ranked among the deities, till after they had ſurmounted the envy of their contemporaries. That in caſe the reſt ſhould not care to pay this juſtice to Alexander's merit, he himſelf was reſolved to ſhow them the way, and to worſhip him if he ſhould come into the hall. But that all of them muſt do their duty, eſpecially thoſe that profeſſed wiſdom, who ought to ſerve to the reſt as an example of the veneration due to ſo great a monarch.

It appeared plainly that this ſpeech was directed to Calliſthenes. [d] He was related to Ariſtotle, who had preſented him to Alexander his pupil, that he might attend upon that monarch in the war of Perſia. He was conſidered, upon account of his wiſdom and gravity, as the fitteſt perſon to give him ſuch wholeſome counſel, as was moſt capable of preſerving him from thoſe exceſſes, into which his youth and fiery temper might hurry him: but he was accuſed of not poſſeſſing the gentle, inſinuating behaviour of courts; and of * not knowing a certain medium, between grovelling complacency, and inflexible obſtinacy. Ariſtotle had attempted, but to no purpoſe, to ſoften the ſeverity of his temper; and foreſeeing the ill conſequences, with which his diſagreeable

[n] Diog. Laert. in Ariſtot. lib. v. p. 303.

* *Inter abruptam contumaciam & deformem obſequium pergere iter ambitione ac periculis vacuum.* Tacit. Annal. lib. iv. cap. 20.

liberty of ſpeaking his mind might be attended, he uſed often to repeat the following verſe of † Homer to him:

My ſon thy freedom will abridge thy days.

And his prediction was but too true.

This philoſopher, ſeeing that every one, on this occaſion, continued in a deep ſilence, and that the eyes of the whole aſſembly were fixed on him, made a ſpeech, which appears to me juſt enough. However, it often happens, when a ſubject is bound in duty to oppoſe the inclinations of his ſovereign, that the moſt cautious and moſt reſpectful zeal is conſidered as inſolence and rebellion. " Had the king (ſaid " he) been preſent when thou madeſt thy ſpeech, none " among us would then have attempted to anſwer thee, for " he himſelf would have interrupted thee, and not have " ſuffered thee to prompt him to aſſume the cuſtoms of Bar- " barians, in caſting an odium on his perſon and glory, by ſo " ſervile an adulation. But ſince he is abſent, I will anſwer " thee in his name. I conſider Alexander as worthy of all " the honours that can be paid a mortal; but there is a dif- " ference between the worſhip of the gods and that of men. " The former includes temples, altars, prayers, and ſacrifices; " the latter is confined to praiſes only, and awful reſpect. " We ſalute the latter, and look upon it as glorious to pay " them ſubmiſſion, obedience, and fidelity; but we adore the " former, we inſtitute feſtivals to their honour, and ſing " hymns and ſpiritual ſongs to their glory. The worſhip of " the gods does itſelf vary, according to their rank; and the " homage we pay to Caſtor and Pollux, is not like that with " which we adore Mercury and Jupiter. We muſt not there- " fore confound all things, either by bringing down the gods " to the condition of mortals, or by raiſing a mortal to the " ſtate of a god. Alexander would be juſtly offended ſhould " we pay to another perſon the homage due to his ſacred " perſon only; ought we not to dread the indignation of the " gods as much, ſhould we beſtow upon mortals, the honours " due to them alone? I am ſenſible that our monarch is vaſtly " ſuperior to the reſt; he is the greateſt of kings, and the moſt

† Ὦκυμορος δ' ἐσσεαι, ὀι' ἀγορευεις. Il. xviii. v. 95.

" glorious of all conquerors; but then he is a man, not a god. " To obtain this title, he muſt firſt be diveſted of his mortal " frame; but this is greatly our intereſt to wiſh may not " happen, but as late as poſſible. The Greeks did not wor- " ſhip Hercules till after his death; and that not till the " oracle had expreſsly commanded it. The Perſians are cited " as an example for our imitation; but how long is it that " the vanquiſhed have given law to the victor? Can we " forget that Alexander croſſed the Helleſpont, not to ſubject " Greece to Aſia, but Aſia to Greece!"

The deep ſilence which all the company obſerved whilſt Calliſthenes ſpoke, was an indication, in ſome meaſure, of their thoughts. The king, who ſtood behind the tapeſtry all the time, heard whatever had paſſed. He thereupon ordered Cleon to be told, That without inſiſting any farther, he would only require the Perſians to fall proſtrate, according to their uſual cuſtom; a little after which he came in, pretending he had been buſied in ſome affair of importance. Immediately the Perſians fell proſtrate to adore him. Polyſperchon, who ſtood near him, obſerving that one of them bowed ſo low that his chin touched the ground, bid him, in a rallying tone of voice, to *ſtrike harder*. The king, offended at this joke, threw Polyſperchon into priſon, and broke up the aſſembly. However, he afterwards pardoned him, but Calliſthenes was not ſo fortunate.

To rid himſelf of him, he laid to his charge a crime of which he was no ways guilty. Hermolaus, one of the young officers who attended upon the king in all places, had, upon account of ſome private pique, formed a conſpiracy againſt him; but it was very happily diſcovered, the inſtant it was to be put in execution. The criminals were ſeiſed, put to the torture, and executed. Not one among them had accuſed Calliſthenes; but having been very intimate with Hermolaus, that alone was ſufficient. Accordingly he was thrown into a dungeon, loaded with irons, and the moſt grievous torments were inflicted on him, in order to extort a confeſſion of guilt. But he inſiſted upon his innocence to the laſt, and expired in the midſt of his tortures.

Nothing has reflected ſo much diſhonour on Alexander's memory, as this unjuſt and cruel death of Calliſthenes. He truly merited the name of Philoſopher, from the

ſolidity of his underſtanding, the extent of his knowledge, the auſterity of his life, the regularity of his conduct, and above all, from the hatred he ſo evidently manifeſted for diſſimulation and flattery of every kind. He was not born for courts, the frequenters of which muſt have a ſupple, pliable, flexible turn of mind; ſometimes it muſt be of a knaviſh and treacherous, at leaſt, of an hypocritical, flattering caſt. He very ſeldom was ſeen at the king's table though frequently invited to it; and whenever he prevailed ſo far upon himſelf as to go thither, his melancholy ſilent air was a manifeſt indication, that he diſapproved of every thing that was ſaid and done at it. With this humour, which was a little too ſevere, he would have been an ineſtimable treaſure, had he been poſſeſſed by a prince who hated falſehood; for among the many thouſands who ſurrounded Alexander, and paid court to him, Calliſthenes only had courage enough to tell him the truth. But where do we meet with princes who know the value of ſuch a virtue, and the uſe which ought to be made of it? Truth ſeldom pierces thoſe clouds which are raiſed by the authority of the great, and the flattery of their courtiers. And indeed Alexander, by this dreadful example, deprived all virtuous men of the opportunity of exhorting him to thoſe things which were for his true intereſt. From that inſtant no one ſpoke with freedom in the council; even thoſe, who had the greateſt love for the public, and a perſonal affection for Alexander, thought themſelves not obliged to undeceive him. After this, nothing was liſtened to but flattery, which gained ſuch an aſcendant over that prince, as entirely depraved him, and juſtly puniſhed him, for having ſacrificed, to the wild ambition of having adoration paid him, the moſt virtuous man about his perſon.

I obſerve, after Seneca, that the death of * Calliſthenes is an eternal reproach to Alexander, and ſo horrid a crime, that no quality, how beautiful ſoever, no military exploit,

* *Hoc eſt Alexandri crimen æternum, quòd nulla virtus, nulla bellorum felicitas redimet. Nam quotiens quis dixerit, occidit Perſarum multa millia; opponetur, & Calliſthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, occidit Darium, penes quem tunc magnum regnum erat; opponetur, & Calliſthenem. Quotiens dictum erit, omnia oceano tenus vicit, ipſum quoque tentavit novis claſſibus, & imperium ex angulo Thraciæ uſque ad orientis termino's protulit; dicetur, ſed Calliſthenem occidit. Omnia licet antiqua ducum regumque exempla tranſierit, ex his quæ fecit, nihil tam magnum erit, quàm ſcelus Calliſthenes.* SENEC. Nat. quæſt. l. vi. c. 23.

though of the moſt conſpicuous kind, can ever efface its infamy. It is ſaid in favour of Alexander, that he killed an infinite number of Perſians; that he dethroned and ſlew the moſt powerful king of the earth; conquered innumerable provinces and nations; penetrated as far as the ocean, and extended the bounds of his empire from the moſt remote part of Thrace to the extremities of the eaſt: in anſwer to each of theſe particulars, *Yes*, ſays Seneca, *but he murdered Calliſthenes;* a crime of ſo heinous a nature, that it entirely obliterates the glory of all his other actions.

SECT. XV. *Alexander ſets out for India. A digreſſion with regard to that country. He beſieges and takes ſeveral cities which appeared impregnable, and is often in danger of his life. He croſſes the river Indus, afterwards the Hydaſpes, and gains a ſignal victory over Porus, whom he reſtores to his throne.*

[c] ALEXANDER, to ſtop the murmurs and diſcontents which aroſe among his ſoldiers, ſet out for India. He himſelf wanted action and motion, for he always, when unemployed, loſt part of the glory he had acquired in war. An exceſs of vanity and folly prompted him to undertake this expedition; a project quite uſeleſs in itſelf, and attended with very dangerous conſequences. He had read in the ancient fables of Greece, that Bacchus and Hercules, both ſons of Jupiter, as himſelf was, had marched ſo far. He was determined not to be ſurpaſſed by them: and there were not wanting flatterers, who applauded this wild, chimerical deſign.

Theſe are the things that conſtitute the glory and merit of ſuch pretended heroes; and it is this which many people, dazzled by a falſe ſplendour, ſtill admire in Alexander: a ridiculous deſire of rambling up and down the world; of diſturbing the tranquillity of nations, who were not bound to him by any obligations; of treating all thoſe as enemies, who ſhould refuſe to acknowledge him for their ſovereign; of ranſacking and extirpating ſuch as ſhould preſume to defend their liberties, their poſſeſſions, and their lives, againſt an unjuſt invader, who came from the extremity of the earth

[c] Q. Curt. l. viii. c. 9.

to attack them, without the leaſt ſhadow of reaſon. Add to this glaring injuſtice, the raſh and ſtupid project he had formed, of ſubduing, with infinite labour, and the utmoſt hazard, many more nations than it was poſſible for him to keep in ſubjection; and the ſad neceſſity to which he was reduced, of being perpetually obliged to conquer them a-new, and puniſh them for their rebellion. This is a ſketch of what the conqueſt of India will exhibit to us, after I ſhall have given ſome little account of the ſituation and manners of that country, and ſome of its rarities.

Ptolemy divides India into two parts; India on this, and India on the other ſide of the Ganges. Alexander did not go beyond the former, nor even ſo far as the Ganges. This firſt part is ſituated between two great rivers, Indus, whence this country receives its name, and the Ganges. Ptolemy ſays, the limits of it are, to the weſt, Paropamiſus, Arachoſia, and Gedroſia, which either form a part, or are upon the confines of the kingdom of Perſia: to the north, mount Imaus, which is part of Great Tartary: to the eaſt, the Ganges: to the ſouth, the Ocean or Indian ſea.

[f] All the Indians are free, and, like the Lacedæmonians, have no ſlaves among them. The only difference is, the latter make uſe of foreign ſlaves, whereas there are none in India. They do not erect any monuments in honour of the dead, but are of opinion, that the reputation of illuſtrious men is their mauſoleum.

They may be divided into ſeven claſſes. The firſt and moſt honourable, though the ſmalleſt, is that of the Brachmans, who are, as it were, the guardians of religion. I ſhall have occaſion to mention them in the ſequel.

The ſecond and greateſt is that of the huſbandmen. Theſe are had in great veneration. Their only employment is to plough the fields, and they are never taken from this employment to carry arms and ſerve in the field in war time: It is an inviolable law, never to moleſt them or their lands.

The third is that of herdſmen and ſhepherds, who keep herds and flocks, and never come into cities. They rove up and down the mountains, and often exerciſe themſelves in hunting.

The fourth is of traders and artificers, among whom pilots

[f] Arrian. de India. p. 324—328.

and ſeamen are included. Theſe three laſt orders pay a tribute to the king, and none are exempt from it but thoſe that make arms, who, inſtead of paying any thing, receive a ſtipend from the public.

The fifth is of ſoldiers, whoſe only employment is war: they are furniſhed with all ſorts of neceſſaries; and, in time of peace, are abundantly ſupplied with all things. Their life, at all times, is free and diſengaged from cares of every kind.

The ſixth order is that of overſeers, (Ἐπίσκοποι) who ſuperintend the actions of others, and examine every tranſaction, either in cities or the country, and report the whole to the prince. The virtues and qualities required in theſe magiſtrates are exactneſs, ſincerity, probity, and the love of their country. None of theſe magiſtrates, ſays the hiſtorian, have ever been accuſed of telling an untruth. Thrice happy nation, were this really fact! However, this obſervation proves at leaſt that truth and juſtice were had in great honour in this country, and that knavery and inſincerity were deteſted in it.

Laſtly, the ſeventh claſs conſiſts of perſons employed in the public councils, and who ſhare the cares of the government with the ſovereign. From this claſs are taken magiſtrates, intendants, governours of provinces, generals, and all military officers, whether for land or ſea; comptrollers of the treaſury, receivers, and all who are entruſted with the public monies.

Theſe different orders of the ſtate never blend by marriage; and an artificer, for inſtance, is not allowed to take a wife from among the claſs of huſbandmen; and ſo of the reſt. None of theſe can follow two profeſſions at the ſame time, nor quit one claſs for another, it is natural to conclude, that this regulation muſt have contributed very much to the improvement of all arts and trades; as every one added his own induſtry and reflections to thoſe of his anceſtors, which were delivered down to him by an uninterrupted tradition.

Many obſervations might be made on theſe Indian cuſtoms, which I am obliged to omit, for the ſake of proceeding in my hiſtory. I only entreat the reader to obſerve, that in every wiſe government, every well-governed ſtate, the tilling of lands, and the graſing of cattle (two perpetual and certain

ſources of riches and abundance) have always been one of the chief objects of the care of thoſe who preſide in the adminiſtration; and that the neglect of either, is erring againſt one of the moſt important maxims in policy.

I alſo admire very much that cuſtom of appointing overſeers, whether they are known for ſuch or not, who go upon the ſpot, in order to inſpect the conduct of governours, intendants, and judges; the only method to prevent the rapine and outrages to which unlimited authority, and the diſtance from a court, frequently give occaſion; the only method, at the ſame time, for a ſovereign to know the ſtate of his kingdom, without which it is impoſſible for him to govern happily the people whom Providence has entruſted to his care. This care regards him perſonally; and thoſe who act under him can no more diſpenſe with the diſcharge of it, than they can uſurp his diadem.

It is remarkable, that in India, from the month of June to thoſe of September and October, exceſſive rains fall very often, whereby the croſſing of rivers is rendered much more difficult, and frequent inundations happen. Hence we may judge how greatly, during all this ſeaſon, the armies of Alexander muſt have ſuffered, as they were at that time in the field.

Before I leave what relates in general to India, I ſhall ſay a few words concerning elephants, with which that country abounds more than any other. The elephant exceeds all terreſtrial animals in ſize. Some are thirteen or fifteen feet high. The female goes a whole year with her young. It lives ſometimes to the age of an hundred or an hundred and twenty years; nay much longer, if ſome ancient writers may be credited. Its noſe, called its trunk; *(proboſcis)* is long and hollow, like a large trumpet, and ſerves the elephant inſtead of a * hand, which it moves with incredible agility and ſtrength, and thereby is of prodigious ſervice to it. The † elephant, notwithſtanding its prodigious ſize, is ſo tractable and induſtrious, that one would be almoſt apt to conclude it were formed with ſomething like human reaſon. It is ſuſceptible

* *Manus data elephantis, quia propter magnitudinem corporis difficiles additus habebant ad paſtum.* Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. n. 123.

† *Elephanto belluarum nulla providentior. At figura quæ vaſtior?* De Nat. Deor. lib. i. n. 97.

of affection, fondneſs, and gratitude, ſo far as to pine away with ſorrow when it has loſt its maſter, and even ſometimes to deſtroy itſelf when it happens to have abuſed or murdered him in the tranſport of its fury. There is no kind of thing which it cannot be taught. Arrian, whoſe authority is not to be queſtioned, relates, that he had ſeen an elephant dance with two cymbals fixed to his legs, which he ſtruck one after the other in cadence with his trunk; and that the reſt danced round him, keeping time with a ſurpriſing exactneſs.

He deſcribes very particularly the manner in which they are taken. The Indians incloſe a large ſpot of ground, with a trench about twenty feet wide, and fifteen high, to which there is acceſs but in one part, and this is a bridge, and is covered with turf; in order that theſe animals, who are very ſubtle, may not ſuſpect what is intended. Of the earth that is dug out of the trench, a kind of wall is raiſed, on the other ſide of which a little kind of chamber is made, where people conceal themſelves in order to watch theſe animals, and its entrance is very ſmall. In this incloſure two or three tame female elephants are ſet. The inſtant the wild elephants ſee or ſmell them, they run and whirl about ſo much, that at laſt they enter the incloſure, upon which the bridge is immediately broke down; and the people upon the watch fly to the neighbouring villages for help. After they have been broke for a few days by hunger and thirſt, people enter the incloſure upon tame elephants, and with theſe they attack them. As the wild ones are by this time very much weakened, it is impoſſible for them to make a long reſiſtance. After throwing them on the ground, men get upon their backs having firſt made a deep wound round their necks, about which they throw a rope, in order to put them to great pain, in caſe they attempt to ſtir. Being tamed in this manner, they ſuffer themſelves to be led quietly to the houſes with the reſt, where they are fed with graſs and green corn, and tamed inſenſibly by blows and hunger, till ſuch time as they obey readily their maſter's voice, and perfectly underſtand his language.

Every one knows the uſe that was formerly made of theſe animals in battle; however they frequently made greater havoc in the army to which they belonged, than in that of the enemy. Their teeth, or rather tuſhes, furniſh us with ivory. But it is time to return to Alexander.

[g] This prince having entered India*, all the petty kings of theſe countries came to meet him, and make their ſubmiſſions. They declared that he was the third ſon of Jupiter†, who had arrived in their country: that they had known Bacchus and Hercules no otherwiſe than by fame; but as for Alexander, they had the happineſs to ſee him, and to enjoy his preſence. The king received them with the utmoſt humanity, commanding them to accompany him, and ſerve him as guides. As no more of them came in to pay their homage, he detached Hephæſtion and Perdiccas with part of his forces, commanding them to ſubdue all who ſhould refuſe to ſubmit. But finding he was obliged to croſs ſeveral rivers, he cauſed boats to be built in ſuch a form, that they could be taken to pieces; the ſeveral parts of them to be carried upon waggons, and afterwards put together again. Then, having commanded Craterus to follow him with his phalanx, he himſelf marched before, with his cavalry and light-armed troops; and, after a ſlight engagement, he defeated thoſe who had dared to make head againſt him, and purſued them to the next city, into which they fled. Craterus being come up, the king, in order to terrify, on a ſudden, thoſe nations who had not yet felt the power of the Macedonian arms, commanded his ſoldiers to burn down the fortifications of that place, which he beſieged in a regular way, and to put all the inhabitants to the ſword. But as he was going round the walls on horſeback, he was wounded by an arrow. Notwithſtanding this accident, he took the city, after which he made dreadful havoc of all the ſoldiers and inhabitants, and did not ſo much as ſpare the houſes.

After ſubduing this nation, which was of great conſequence, he marched towards the city of Nyſa, and encamped pretty near its walls, behind a foreſt that hid it. In the mean time, it grew ſo very cold in the night, that they had never yet felt ſo exceſſive a chill; but, very happily for them, a remedy was near at hand. They felled a great number of

g Quint. Curt. l. viii. c. 9—14. Arrian l. iv. p. 182—195. l. v. p. 195—221. Plut. in Alex. p. 697—699. Diod. l. xvii. 557—559. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 7, 8.

* Quintus Curtius ſuppoſes, that ſeveral countries on the other ſide of the Indus, but adjacent to that river, belonged to India, and made part of it.

† Could theſe Greek names of gods be known to the Indians?

trees, and lighted up ſeveral fires, which proved very comfortable to the whole army. The beſieged having attempted a ſally with ill ſucceſs, a faction aroſe in the city, ſome being of opinion, that it would be beſt for them to ſurrender, whilſt others were for holding out the ſiege. This coming to the king's ear, he only blocked up the city, and did not do the inhabitants any further injury; till at laſt, tired out with the length of the ſiege, they ſurrendered at diſcretion, and accordingly were kindly treated by the conqueror. They declared that their city had been built by Bacchus. The whole army for ſix days together, celebrated games, and made rejoicings on this mountain, in honour of the god who was there worſhipped.

He marched from thence to a country called Dædala, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, who had fled for ſhelter to inacceſſible mountains, as alſo thoſe of Acadera, into which he afterwards entered. This obliged him to change his method of war and to diſperſe his forces in different places, by which means the enemy were all defeated at once: no reſiſtance was made any where, and thoſe who were ſo courageous as to wait the coming up of the Macedonians, were all cut to pieces. Ptolemy took ſeveral little cities the inſtant he ſat down before them: Alexander carried the large ones, and, after uniting all his forces, paſſed the river * Choaſpes, and left Cœnus to beſiege a rich and populous city, called Bazica by the inhabitants. A. M. 3677. Ant. J. C. 327.

He afterwards marched towards Magoſa, whoſe king, called Aſſacanus, was lately dead, and Cleophes, his mother, ruled the province and city. There were thirty thouſand foot in it, and both nature and art ſeemed to have united their endeavours in raiſing its fortifications; for towards the eaſt, it is ſurrounded with a very rapid river, the banks of which are ſteep, and difficult of acceſs; and on the weſt are high, craggy rocks; at the foot whereof are caves, which, through length of time, had increaſed into a kind of abyſſes; and where theſe fail, a trench, of an aſtoniſhing height, is raiſed with incredible labour.

Whilſt Alexander was going round the city, to view its fortifications, he was ſhot by an arrow in the calf of his leg; but he only pulled out the weapon; and, without ſo much as

* This is not the Choaſpes which runs by Suſa.

binding up the wound, mounted his horſe, and continued to view the outward fortifications of the city. But as he rode with his leg downward, and the congealing of the blood put him to great pain, it is related that he cried, * "Every one ſwears that I am the ſon of Jupiter, but my wound makes me ſenſible that I am a man." However, he did not leave the place till he had ſeen every thing; and given all the neceſſary orders. Some of the ſoldiers, therefore, demoliſhed ſuch houſes as ſtood without the city, and with the rubbiſh of them they filled up the gulphs above mentioned. Others threw great trunks of trees and huge ſtones into them; and all laboured with ſo much vigour, that in nine days the works were compleated, and the towers were raiſed upon them.

The king, without waiting till his wound was healed, viſited the works, and after applauding the ſoldiers for their great diſpatch, he cauſed the engines to be brought forward, whence a great number of darts were diſcharged againſt thoſe who defended the walls. But that which moſt terrified the Barbarians, was thoſe towers of a vaſt height, which ſeemed to them to move of themſelves. This made them imagine, that they were made to advance by the gods; and that thoſe battering rams which beat down walls, and the javelins thrown by engines, the like of which they had never ſeen, could not be the effect of human ſtrength: ſo that, perſuaded that it would be impoſſible for them to defend the city, they withdrew into the citadel; but not finding themſelves more ſecure there, they ſent ambaſſadors to propoſe a ſurrender. The queen afterwards came and met Alexander, attended by a great number of ladies, who all brought him wine in cups, by way of ſacrifice. The king gave her a very gracious reception, and reſtored her to her kingdom.

From hence Polyſperchon was ſent with an army to beſiege the city of Ora, which he ſoon took. Moſt of its inhabitants had withdrawn to the rock called Aornos. There was a tradition, that Hercules having beſieged this rock, an earthquake had forced him to quit the ſiege. There are not on this rock, as on many others, gentle declivities of eaſy acceſs; but it riſes like a bank; and being very wide at bottom, grows

* *Omnes jurant me Jovis eſſe filium, ſed vulnus hoc hominem eſſe me clamat.* SENEC. Epiſt. lix.

narrower all the way to the top, which terminates in a point. The river Indus, whoſe ſource is not far from this place, flows at the bottom, its ſides being perpendicular and high; and on the other ſide were vaſt moraſſes, which it was neceſſary to fill up before the rock could be taken. Very happily for the Macedonians they were near a foreſt. This the king had cut down, commanding his ſoldiers to carry off nothing but the trunks, the branches of which were lopped, in order that they might be carried with the leſs difficulty; and he himſelf threw the firſt trunk into the moraſs. The army ſeeing this, ſhouted for joy, and every ſoldier labouring with incredible diligence, the work was finiſhed in ſeven days; immediately after which the attack began. The officers were of opinion, that it would not be proper for the king to expoſe himſelf on this occaſion, the danger being evidently too great. However, the trumpet had no ſooner ſounded, but this prince, who was not maſter of his courage, commanded his guards to follow, himſelf firſt climbing the rock. At this ſight it appeared no longer inacceſſible, and every one flew after him. Never were ſoldiers expoſed to greater danger; but they were all reſolved to conquer or die. Several fell from the rock into the river, whoſe whirlpools ſwallowed them up. The Barbarians rolled great ſtones on the foremoſt, who being ſcarce able to keep upon their feet (the rock was ſo ſlippery) fell down the precipices, and were daſhed to pieces. No ſight could poſſibly be more diſmal than this; the king, greatly afflicted at the loſs of ſo many brave ſoldiers, cauſed a retreat to be ſounded. Nevertheleſs, though he had loſt all hopes of taking the place, and was determined to raiſe the ſiege, he acted as if he intended to continue it, and accordingly gave orders for bringing forward the towers and other engines. The beſieged, by way of inſult, made great rejoicings; and continued their feſtivity for two days and two nights, making the rock, and the whole neighbourhood, echo with the ſound of their drums and cymbals. But the third night they were not heard, and the Macedonians were ſurpriſed to ſee every part of the rock illuminated with torches. The king was informed, that the Indians had lighted them to aſſiſt their flight, and to guide them the more eaſily in thoſe precipices, during the obſcurity of the night. Immediately the

whole army, by Alexander's order, ſhouted aloud, which terrified the fugitives ſo much, that ſeveral of them fancying they ſaw the enemy, flung themſelves from the top of the rock, and periſhed miſerably. The king having ſo happily and unexpectedly poſſeſſed himſelf of the rock, in an almoſt miraculous manner, thanked the gods, and offered ſacrifices in their honour.

From hence he marched and took Ecbolimus; and after ſixteen days' march arrived at the river Indus, where he found that Hephæſtion had got all things ready for his paſſage, purſuant to the orders given him. The king of the country, called Omphis, whoſe father died ſome time before, had ſent to Alexander, to know whether he would give him leave to wear the crown. Notwithſtanding the Macedonian told him he might, he nevertheleſs delayed putting it on till his arrival. He then went to meet him with his whole army; and when Alexander was advanced pretty near, he puſhed forward his horſe, came up ſingly to him, and the king did the ſame. The Indian then told him by an interpreter, "That he was "come to meet him at the head of his army, in order to "deliver up all his forces into his hands. That he ſurren-"dered his perſon and his kingdom to a monarch, who, he "was ſenſible, fought only with the view of acquiring glory, "and dreaded nothing ſo much as treachery." The king greatly ſatisfied with the frankneſs of the Barbarian, gave him his hand, and reſtored him his kingdoms. He then made Alexander a preſent of fifty-ſix elephants, and a great number of other animals of prodigious ſize. Alexander aſking him which were moſt neceſſary to him, huſbandmen or ſoldiers? he replied, that as he was at war with two kings, the latter were of greateſt ſervice to him. Theſe two monarchs were Abiſares and Porus, the latter of whom was moſt powerful, and the dominions of both were ſituated on the other ſide of the Hydaſpes. Omphis aſſumed the diadem, and took the name of Taxilus, by which the kings of that country were called. He made magnificent preſents to Alexander, who did not ſuffer himſelf to be exceeded in generoſity.

The next day, ambaſſadors from Abiſares waiting upon the king, ſurrendered up to him, purſuant to the power given them, all the dominions of their ſovereign; and after each party had promiſed fidelity on both ſides, they returned back.

Alexander expecting that Porus, aſtoniſhed with the report of his glory, would not fail to ſubmit to him, ſent a meſſage to that prince, as if he had been his vaſſal, requiring him to pay tribute, and meet him upon the frontiers of his dominions. Porus anſwered with great coldneſs, that he would do ſo, but it ſhould be ſword in hand. At the ſame time a re-inforcement of thirty elephants, which were of great ſervice, were ſent to Alexander. He gave the ſuperintendance of all his elephants to Taxilus, and advanced as far as the borders of the Hydaſpes. Porus was encamped on the other ſide of it, in order to diſpute the paſſage with him; and had poſted at the head of his army eighty-five elephants of a prodigious ſize, and behind them three hundred chariots, guarded by thirty thouſand foot; not having at moſt, above ſeven thouſand horſe. This prince was mounted on an elephant of a much larger ſize than any of the reſt, and he himſelf exceeded the uſual ſtature of men; ſo that, clothed in his armour glittering with gold and ſilver, he appeared at the ſame time terrible and majeſtic. The greatneſs of his courage equalled that of his ſtature, and he was as wiſe and prudent as it was poſſible for the monarch of ſo barbarous a people to be.

The Macedonians dreaded not only the enemy, but the river they were obliged to paſs. It was four furlongs wide (about four hundred fathoms) and ſo deep in every part, that it looked like a ſea, and was no where fordable. It was vaſtly impetuous notwithſtanding its great breadth; for it rolled with as much violence, as if it had been confined to a narrow channel; and its raging, foaming waves, which broke in many places, diſcovered that it was full of ſtones and rocks. However, nothing was ſo dreadful as the appearance of the ſhore, which was quite covered with men, horſes and elephants. Thoſe hideous animals ſtood like ſo many towers, and the Indians exaſperated them, in order that the horrid cry they made might fill the enemy with greater terror. However, this could not intimidate an army of men, whoſe courage was proof againſt all attacks, and who were animated by an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperities; but then they did not think it would be poſſible for them, as their barks were ſo crazy, to ſurmount the rapidity of the ſtream, or land with ſafety.

This river was full of little iſlands, to which the Indians

and Macedonians uſed to ſwim, with their arms over their heads; and ſlight ſkirmiſhes were every day fought in the ſight of the two kings, who were well pleaſed to make thoſe ſmall excurſions of their reſpective forces, and to form a judgment from ſuch ſkirmiſhes, of the ſucceſs of a general battle. There were two young officers in Alexander's army, Egeſimachus and Nicanor, men of equal intrepidity, and who, having been ever ſucceſsful, deſpiſed dangers of every kind. They took with them the braveſt youths in the whole army: and, with no other weapons than their javelins, ſwam to an iſland in which ſeveral of the enemy were landed; where, with ſcarce any other aſſiſtance but their intrepidity, they made a great ſlaughter. After this bold ſtroke, they might have retired with glory, where it poſſible for raſhneſs, when ſucceſsful, to keep within bounds. But as they waited with contempt, and an inſulting air, for thoſe who came to ſuccour their companions, they were ſurrounded by a band of ſoldiers, who had ſwam unperceived to the iſland, and overwhelmed with the darts which were ſhot from far. Thoſe who endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, were either carried away by the waves, or ſwallowed up by the whirlpools. The courage of Porus, who ſaw all this from the ſhore, was ſurpriſingly increaſed by this ſucceſs.

Alexander was in great perplexity; and finding he could not paſs the Hydaſpes by force of arms, he therefore reſolved to have recourſe to artifice. Accordingly he cauſed his cavalry to attempt ſeveral times to paſs it in the night, and to ſhout as if they really intended to ford the river, all things being prepared for that purpoſe. Immediately Porus hurried thither with his elephants, but Alexander continued in battle-array on the bank. This ſtratagem having been attempted ſeveral times, and Porus finding the whole but mere noiſe and empty menaces, he took no further notice of theſe motions, and only ſent ſcouts to every part of the ſhore. Alexander being now no longer apprehenſive of having the whole army of the enemy fall upon him, in his attempting to croſs the river in the night, began to reſolve ſeriouſly to paſs it.

There was in this river, at a conſiderable diſtance from Alexander's camp, an iſland of a greater extent than any of the reſt. This being covered with trees, was very proper for him to cover and conceal his deſign, and therefore he reſolved to

attempt the paſſage that way. However, the better to conceal the knowledge of it from the enemy, and deceive him on this occaſion, he left Craterus in his camp with a great part of the army, with orders for them to make a great noiſe, at a certain time which ſhould be appointed, in order to alarm the Indians, and make them believe that he was preparing to croſs the river; but that he would not attempt this, till ſuch time as Porus ſhould have raiſed his camp, and marched away his elephants, either to withdraw or advance towards thoſe Macedonians who ſhould attempt the paſſage. Between the camp and the iſland he had poſted Meleager and Gorgias with the foreign horſe and foot, with orders for them to paſs over in bodies, the inſtant they ſhould ſee him engaged in battle.

After giving theſe orders, he took the reſt of his army, as well cavalry as infantry; and, wheeling off from the ſhore, in order to avoid being perceived, he advanced in the night-time towards the iſland into which he was reſolved to go; and the better to deceive the enemy, Alexander cauſed his tent to be pitched in the camp where he had left Craterus, which was oppoſite to that of Porus. His life-guards were drawn up round, in all the pomp and ſplendour with which the majeſty of a great king is uſually ſurrounded. He alſo cauſed a royal robe to be put upon Attalus, who was of the ſame age with himſelf, and ſo much reſembled the king, both in ſtature and features, eſpecially at ſo great a diſtance as the breadth of the river, that the enemy might ſuppoſe Alexander himſelf was on the bank, and was attempting the paſſage in that place. He however was by this time got to the iſland above-mentioned; and immediately landed upon it from boats, with the reſt of his troops, whilſt the enemy was employed in oppoſing Craterus. But now a furious ſtorm aroſe, which ſeemed as if it would retard the execution of his project, yet proved of advantage to it; for ſo fortunate was this prince, that obſtacles changed into advantages, and ſuccours in his favour: the ſtorm was ſucceeded by a very violent ſhower, with impetuous winds, flaſhes of lightning and thunder, inſomuch that there was no hearing or ſeeing any thing. Any man but Alexander would have abandoned his deſign; but he, on the contrary, was animated by danger, not to mention that the noiſe, the confuſion, and the darkneſs, aſſiſted his paſſage. He thereupon made the ſignal for the embarkation

of his troops, and went off himſelf in the firſt boat. It is reported that it was on this occaſion he cried out, "O Athenians, could you think I would expoſe myſelf to ſuch dangers, to merit your applauſe!" And, indeed, nothing could contribute more to eternize his name, than the having his actions recorded by ſuch great hiſtorians as Thucydides and Xenophon; [h] and ſo anxious was he about the character which would be given him after his death, that he wiſhed it were poſſible for him to return again into the world only ſo long as was neceſſary to know what kind of impreſſion the peruſal of his hiſtory made on the minds of men.

Scarce any perſon appeared to oppoſe their deſcent, becauſe Porus was wholly taken up with Craterus, and imagined he had nothing to do but to oppoſe his paſſage. Immediately this general, purſuant to his orders, made a prodigious clamour, and ſeemed to attempt the paſſage of the river. Upon this all the boats came to ſhore, one excepted, which the waves daſhed to pieces againſt a rock. The moment Alexander was landed, he drew up in order of battle his little army, conſiſting of ſix thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe. He himſelf headed the latter; and, having commanded the foot to make all imaginable diſpatch after him, he marched before. It was his firm opinion, that in caſe the Indians ſhould oppoſe him with their whole force, his cavalry would give him infinite advantage over them; and that, be this as it would, he might eaſily continue fighting till his foot ſhould come up; or, that in caſe the enemy, alarmed at the news of his paſſing, ſhould fly, it would then be in his power to purſue, and make a great ſlaughter of them.

Porus, upon hearing that Alexander had paſſed the river, had ſent againſt him a detachment, commanded by one of his ſons, of two thouſand horſe, and one hundred and twenty chariots. Alexander imagined them at firſt to be the enemy's van-guard, and that the whole army was behind them; but, being informed it was but a detachment, he charged them with ſuch vigour, that Porus's ſon was killed upon the ſpot, with four hundred horſes, and all the chariots were taken. Each of theſe chariots carried ſix men; two were armed with bucklers, two bowmen ſat on each ſide, and two guided the chariot, who nevertheleſs always fought when the battle grew warm,

[h] Lucian de conſcrib. hiſt. p. 694.

having a great number of darts which they diſcharged at the enemy. But all theſe did little execution that day, becauſe the rain, which fell in great abundance, had moiſtened the earth to ſuch a degree, that the horſes could ſcarce ſtand upon their legs; and the chariots being very heavy, moſt of them ſunk very deep into the mud.

Porus, upon receiving advice of the death of his ſon, the defeat of the detachment, and of Alexander's approach, was in doubt whether it would be proper for him to continue in his poſt, becauſe Craterus, with the reſt of the Macedonian army made a feint as if they intended to paſs the river. However, he at laſt reſolved to go and meet Alexander, whom he juſtly ſuppoſed to be at the head of the choiceſt troops of his army. Accordingly, leaving only a few elephants in his camp, to amuſe thoſe who were poſted on the oppoſite ſhore, he ſet out with thirty thouſand foot, four thouſand horſe, three thouſand chariots, and two hundred elephants. Being come into a firm, ſandy ſoil, in which his horſes and chariots might wheel about with eaſe, he drew up his army in battle-array, with an intent to wait the coming up of the enemy. He poſted in front, and on the firſt line, all the elephants at an hundred feet diſtance one from the other, in order that they might ſerve as a bulwark to his foot, who were behind. It was his opinion, that the enemy's cavalry would not dare to engage in theſe intervals, becauſe of the fear thoſe horſes would have of the elephants; and much leſs the infantry, when they ſhould ſee that of the enemy poſted behind the elephants, and in danger of being trod to pieces by thoſe animals. He had poſted ſome of his foot on the ſame line with the elephants, in order to cover their right and left; and this infantry was covered by his two wings of horſe, before which the chariots were poſted. Such was the order and diſpoſition of Porus's army.

Alexander being come in ſight of the enemy, waited the coming up of his foot, which marched with the utmoſt diligence, and arrived a little after: and in order that they might have time to take breath, and not to be led, as they were very much fatigued, againſt the enemy, he cauſed his horſe to make a great many evolutions, in order to gain time. But now every thing being ready, and the infantry having ſufficiently recovered their vigour, Alexander gave the ſignal of battle.

He did not think proper to begin by attacking the enemy's main body, where the infantry and the elephants were poſted, for the very reaſon which had made Porus draw them up in that manner: but his cavalry being ſtronger, he drew out the greateſt part of them; and marching againſt the left wing, ſent Cœnus with his own regiment of horſe, and that of Demetrius, to charge them at the ſame time; ordering him to attack that cavalry on the left, behind, during which he himſelf would charge them both in front and flank. Seleucus, Antigonus, and Tauron, who commanded the foot, were ordered not to ſtir from their poſts, till Alexander's cavalry had put that of the enemy, as well as their foot, into diſorder.

Being come within arrow-ſhot, he detached a thouſand bowmen on horſeback, with orders for them to make their diſcharge on the horſe of Porus's left wing, in order to throw it into diſorder, whilſt he himſelf ſhould charge this body in flank, before it had time to rally. The Indians, having joined again their ſquadrons, and drawn them up into a narrower compaſs, advanced againſt Alexander. At that inſtant Cœnus charged them in the rear, according to the orders given him; inſomuch that the Indians were obliged to face about on all ſides, to defend themſelves from the thouſand bowmen, and againſt Alexander and Cœnus. Alexander, to make the beſt advantage of the confuſion into which this ſudden attack had thrown them, charged with great vigour thoſe that made head againſt him, who being no longer able to ſtand ſo violent an attack, were ſoon broke, and retired behind the elephants, as to an impregnable rampart. The leaders of the elephants made them advance againſt the enemy's horſe; but, that very inſtant, the Macedonian phalanx moving on a ſudden, ſurrounded thoſe animals, and charged with their pikes the elephants themſelves and their leaders. This battle was very different from all thoſe which Alexander had hitherto fought; for the elephants ruſhing upon the battalions, broke, with inexpreſſible fury, the thickeſt of them; when the Indian horſe, ſeeing the Macedonian foot ſtopped by the elephants, returned to the charge: however, that of Alexander being ſtronger, and having greater experience in war, broke this body a ſecond time, and obliged it to retire towards the elephants; upon which the Macedonian horſe being all united in one body, ſpread terrour and confuſion wherever

they attacked. The elephants being all covered with wounds, and the greateſt part having loſt their leaders, they did not obſerve their uſual order; but, diſtracted as it were with pain, no longer diſtinguiſhed friends from foes, but running about from place to place, they overthrew every thing that came in their way. The Macedonians, who had purpoſely left a greater interval between their battalions, either made way for them wherever they came forward, or charged with darts thoſe that fear and the tumult obliged to retire. Alexander, after having ſurrounded the enemy with his horſe, made a ſignal to his foot to march up with all imaginable ſpeed, in order to make a laſt effort, and to fall upon them with his whole force, all which they executed very ſucceſsfully. In this manner the greateſt part of the Indian cavalry were cut to pieces; and a body of their foot, which ſuſtained no leſs loſs, ſeeing themſelves charged on all ſides, at laſt fled. Craterus, who had continued in the camp with the reſt of his army, ſeeing Alexander engaged with Porus, croſſed the river, and charging the routed ſoldiers with his troops, who were cool and vigorous, by that means killed as many enemies in the retreat, as had fallen in the battle.

The Indians loſt on this occaſion twenty thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe; not to mention the chariots which were all broke to pieces, and the elephants that were either killed or taken. Porus's two ſons fell in this battle, with Spitacus, governor of the province; all the colonels of horſe and foot, and thoſe who guided the elephants and chariots. As for Alexander, he loſt but fourſcore of the ſix thouſand ſoldiers who were at the firſt charge, ten bowmen of the horſe, twenty of his horſe-guards, and two hundred common ſoldiers.

Porus, after having performed all the duty both of a ſoldier and a general in the battle, and fought with incredible bravery, ſeeing all his horſe defeated, and the greateſt part of his foot, did not behave like the great Darius, who, on a like diſaſter, was the firſt that fled: on the contrary, he continued in the field, as long as one battalion or ſquadron ſtood their ground; but at laſt, having received a wound in the ſhoulder, he retired upon his elephant; and was eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, by the greatneſs of his ſtature, and his unparalleled bravery. Alexander, finding who he was by

thoſe glorious marks, and being deſirous of ſaving this king, ſent Taxilus after him, becauſe he was of the ſame nation. The latter advancing as near to him as he might, without running any danger of being wounded, called out to him to ſtop, in order to hear the meſſage he had brought him from Alexander. Porus turning back, and ſeeing it was Taxilus, his old enemy; "How!" ſays he, "is it not Taxilus that calls, that traitor to his country and kingdom?" Immediately after which, he would have transfixed him with his dart, had he not inſtantly retired. Notwithſtanding this, Alexander was ſtill deſirous to ſave ſo brave a prince, and thereupon diſpatched other officers, among whom was Meroe, one of his intimate friends, who beſought him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to wait upon a conqueror, altogether worthy of him. After much intreaty, Porus conſented, and accordingly ſet forward. Alexander, who had been told of his coming, advanced forwards in order to receive him with ſome of his train. Being come pretty near, Alexander ſtopped, purpoſely to take a view of his ſtature and noble mien, he being about five cubits in height.* Porus did not ſeem dejected at his misfortune, but came up with a reſolute countenance, like a valiant warrior, whoſe courage in defending his dominions ought to acquire him the eſteem of the brave prince who had taken him priſoner. Alexander ſpoke firſt, and with an auguſt and gracious air, aſked him how he deſired to be treated? "Like a king," replied Porus. "But," continued Alexander, "do you aſk nothing more?" "No," replied Porus; "all things are included in that ſingle word." Alexander, ſtruck with this greatneſs of ſoul, the magnanimity of which ſeemed heightened by diſtreſs, did not only reſtore him his kingdom, but annexed other provinces to it, and treated him with the higheſt teſtimonies of honour, eſteem, and friendſhip. Porus was faithful to him till his death. It is hard to ſay, whether the victor or the vanquiſhed beſt deſerved praiſe on this occaſion.

Alexander built a city on the ſpot where the battle had been fought, and another in that place where he had croſſed the river. He called the one Nicæa from his victory; and the other Bucephalon, in honour of his horſe who died there,

* Seven feet and a half.

not of his wounds, but of old age. After having paid the laſt duties to ſuch of his ſoldiers as had loſt their lives in battle, he ſolemnized games, and offered up ſacrifices of thanks, in the place where he had paſſed the Hydaſpes.

This prince did not know to whom he was indebted for his victories. We are aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of Alexander's conqueſts; the eaſe with which he ſurmounts the greateſt obſtacles, and forces almoſt impregnable cities; the uninterrupted and unheard-of felicity that extricates him out of thoſe dangers into which his raſhneſs plunges him, and in which, one would have concluded, he muſt a hundred times have periſhed. But to unravel theſe myſterious kinds of events, ſeveral of which are repugnant to the uſual courſe of things, we muſt go back to a ſuperior cauſe, unknown to the prophane hiſtorians, and to Alexander himſelf. This monarch was, like Cyrus, the miniſter and inſtrument of the Sovereign Diſpoſer of empires, who raiſes and deſtroys them at pleaſure. He had received the ſame orders to overthrow the Perſian and eaſtern empires, as Cyrus to deſtroy that of Babylon. The ſame Power conducted their enterpriſes, aſſured them of ſucceſs, protected and preſerved them from all dangers, till they had executed their commiſſion, and completed their miniſtry. We may apply to Alexander, the words which God ſpake to Cyrus in Iſaiah[i] "Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden, to ſubdue nations before him; and I will cauſe the loins of kings to open before him the two-leaved gates, and the gates ſhall not be ſhut: I will go before thee, and make the crooked paths ſtraight: I will break in pieces the gates of braſs, and cut in ſunder the bars of iron. And I will give thee treaſures of darkneſs, and hidden treaſures of ſecret places.——I girded thee, though thou haſt not known me." This is the true and only cauſe of the incredible ſucceſs with which this conqueror was attended; of his unparalleled bravery; the affection his ſoldiers had for him, the foreknowledge of his felicity, and his aſſurance of ſucceſs, which aſtoniſhed his moſt intrepid captains.

[i] Chap. xlv. 1—5.

SECT. XVI. *Alexander advances into India. A digreſſion relating to the Brachmans. That prince reſolves to march as far as the Ganges, which raiſes a general diſcontent in his army. Remonſtrances being made to him on that account, he lays aſide his deſign, and is contented with going no farther than the ocean. He ſubdues all things in his way thither, and is expoſed to great danger at the ſiege of the city of the Oxydracæ: and arriving at laſt at the ocean, he afterwards prepares for his return into Europe.*

A. M. 3678. Ant. J. C. 326.

[k] ALEXANDER, after his famous victory over Porus, advanced into India, where he ſubdued a great many nations and cities. He looked upon himſelf as a conqueror by profeſſion as well as by his dignity, and engaged every day in new exploits with ſo much ardour and vivacity, that he ſeemed to fancy himſelf inveſted with a perſonal commiſſion, and that there was an immediate obligation upon him to ſtorm all cities, to lay waſte all provinces, to extirpate all nations, which ſhould refuſe his yoke; and that he ſhould have conſidered himſelf as guilty of a crime, had he forbore viſiting every corner of the earth, and carrying terror and deſolation wherever he went. He paſſed the Aceſines, and afterwards the Hydraotes, two conſiderable rivers. Advice was then brought him, that a great number of free Indians had made a confederacy to defend their liberties; and among the reſt, the Caytheans, who were the moſt valiant and moſt ſkilful of thoſe nations in the art of war; and that they were encamped near a ſtrong city, called Sangala. Alexander ſet out againſt theſe Indians, defeated them in a pitched battle, took the city, and razed it to the very foundations.

[l] One day, as he was riding at the head of his army, ſome philoſophers called Brachmans in the language of that country, were converſing together, as they were walking in a meadow. The inſtant they perceived him, they all ſtamped againſt the ground with their feet. Alexander, ſurpriſed at this extraordinary geſture, demanded the cauſe of it. They anſwered, pointing to the ground with their fingers, "That

[k] Q. Curt. lib. ix. cap. 1.

[l] Arrian. lib. vii. p. 275, 276. Id. in Indic. p. 324. Strab. lib. xv. p. 715—717. Plut. in Alex. p. 701. Q. Curt. lib. viii. c. 9.

"no man poſſeſſed any more of that element than he could "enjoy: That the only difference between him and other "men, was, that he was more reſtleſs, and ambitious than "they, and over-ran all ſeas and lands, merely to harm others "and himſelf: and yet—he would die at laſt, and poſſeſs no "greater part of the earth than was neceſſary for his inter-"ment." The king was not diſpleaſed at this anſwer: but he was hurried on by a torrent of glory, and his actions were the very reverſe of what he approved.

Theſe Brachmans, ſays Arrian, are in great veneration in their country. They do not pay any tribute to the prince, but aſſiſt him with their counſel, and perform the ſame offices as the Magi do to the kings of Perſia. They aſſiſt at the public ſacrifices; and if a perſon deſires to ſacrifice in private, one of theſe muſt be preſent, otherwiſe the Indians are perſuaded they would not be agreeable to the gods. They apply themſelves particularly to conſulting the ſtars; none but themſelves pretend to divination; and they foretel, chiefly, the change of weather and of the ſeaſons. If a Brachman has failed thrice in his predictions, he is ſilenced for ever.

Their ſentiments, according to Strabo, are not very different from thoſe of the Greeks. They believe that the world had a beginning; that it will end; that its form is circular; that it was created by God, who preſides over, and fills it, with his majeſty; and that water is the principle of all things. With regard to the immortality of the ſoul, and the puniſhment of the wicked in hell, they follow the doctrine of Plato; intermixing it, like that philoſopher, with ſome fictions, in order to expreſs or deſcribe thoſe puniſhments.

Several among them go always naked, whence the Greeks give them the name of Gymnoſophiſts. Many incredible particulars are related, concerning the auſterity of their lives and their prodigious patience. Their only meat and drink is roots and water. As they admit the metempſychoſis, and believe that the ſouls of men tranſmigrate into thoſe of beaſts, they abſtain from the fleſh of animals. It is thought, that Pythagoras borrowed this doctrine from the Brachmans. They continue whole days ſtanding with their faces towards the ſun, and that in the ſeaſon when this planet darts its rays with the greateſt violence. Perſuaded that it is beneath the

dignity of a man to wait calmly for death, when he finds himſelf oppreſſed by age or ſickneſs, they hold it glorious to prevent their laſt hour, and burn themſelves alive; and, indeed, they pay no honours to thoſe who die merely of old age; and imagine they would pollute their funeral pile, and the fire that is to burn them to aſhes, ſhould they go into it otherwiſe than full of life and vigour. Other Brachmans, more judicious and humane than the former, live in cities, and aſſociate with their own ſpecies; and ſo far from conſidering ſelf-murder as a virtuous or brave action, they look upon it as a weakneſs in man not to wait patiently the ſtroke of death, and as a crime to dare to anticipate the will of the gods.

Cicero admires, in his Tuſculan queſtions, the invincible patience, not only of the Indian ſages, but alſo of the * women of that country, who uſed to conteſt for the honour of dying with their common huſband. This privilege was reſerved for that wife whom the huſband had loved moſt affectionately; and was given in her favour by the ſentence of perſons appointed for that purpoſe, who never gave a judgment till ſuch time as they made a ſtrict examination, and heard the allegations on all ſides. The wife on whom the preference was beſtowed, ran to meet death, and aſcended the funeral pile with incredible joy and patience; whilſt the ſurviving wives withdrew in the deepeſt tranſports of affliction, and with their eyes bathed in tears.

The deſcription which [m] Porphyrius has left us of theſe philoſophers, reſembles in many particulars that given above. According to this author, the Brachmans live on herbs, roots, and fruits. They abſtain from animals of every kind, and if they touch any, they thereby render themſelves unclean. They ſpend the greateſt part of the day and night in ſinging hymns in honour of their gods. They faſt and pray perpetually. The greateſt part of them live alone, and in the deepeſt ſolitude, and neither marry nor profeſs any thing. They wiſh for nothing ſo earneſtly as death; and conſidering

[m] Lib. de Abſtin. Animal.

* *Mulieres in India, cum eſt cujuſque earum vir mortuus, in certamen judiciumque veniunt, quam plurimum ille dilexerit: plures enim ſingulis ſolent eſſe nuptæ. Quæ eſt victrix ea læta, proſequentibus ſuis, unà cum viro in rogum imponitur: illa victa, mœſta diſcedit.* Tuſc. Quæſt. lib. v. n. 78.

this life as a burthen, they wait impatiently for the moment when the ſoul will leave the body.

Theſe philoſophers exiſt ſtill in India, where they are called *Bramins;* and retain, in many points, the tradition and tenets of the ancient Brachmans.

Alexander, paſſing near a city wherein ſeveral of theſe Brachmans dwelt, was very deſirous to converſe with them, and, if poſſible, to prevail with ſome of them to follow him. Being informed that theſe philoſophers never made viſits, but that thoſe who had an inclination to ſee them muſt go to their houſes, he concluded, that it would be beneath his dignity to go to them; and not juſt, to force theſe ſages to any thing contrary to their laws and uſages. Oneſicritus, who was a great philoſopher, and had been a diſciple of Diogenes the Cynick, was deputed to them. He met, not far from the city, with fifteen Bramins, who from morning till evening ſtood always naked, in the ſame poſture in which they at firſt had placed themſelves, and afterwards returned to the city at night. He addreſſed himſelf firſt to Calanus, and told him the occaſion of his coming. The latter, gazing upon Oneſicritus's clothes and ſhoes, could not forbear laughing; after which he told him, "That anciently "the earth had been covered with barley and wheat, as it was "at that time with duſt; that beſides water, the rivers uſed "to flow with milk, honey, oil, and wine. That man's guilt "had occaſioned a change of this happy condition; and that "Jupiter, to puniſh their ingratitude, had ſentenced them "to a long, painful labour. That their repentance after-"wards moving him to compaſſion, he had reſtored them "their former abundance; however, that by the courſe of "things, they ſeemed to be returning to their ancient confu-"ſion." This relation ſhows evidently, that theſe philoſophers had ſome notion of the felicity of the firſt man, and of the evil to which he had been ſentenced for his ſins.

After this firſt converſation, Oneſicritus ſpoke to Mandanis, the chief, and as it were, the ſuperior of the band. This Brachman ſaid, "That he thought Alexander worthy of "admiration, in ſeeking thus for wiſdom in the midſt of the "cares of his government: * That he was the firſt, who "had ever united in himſelf the two characters of conqueror

* Μονον γαρ ιδοι αυτον εν οπλοις φιλοσοφεντα.

" and philoſopher; that it were to be wiſhed, that the latter " character were the attribute of thoſe who could inſpire " the wiſdom which they themſelves poſſeſſed, and command " it by their authority." He added, That he could not conceive the motive which had prompted Alexander to undertake ſo long and laborious a journey, nor what he came in ſearch of, in ſo remote a country.

Oneſicritus was very urgent with both of them to quit their auſtere way of life, and follow the fortune of Alexander, ſaying, that they would find in him a generous maſter and benefactor, who would heap upon them honours and riches of all kinds. Then Mandanis aſſuming a haughty, philoſophical tone, anſwered, " That he did not want Alex- " ander, and was the ſon of Jupiter as well as himſelf: That " he was exempted from want, deſire, or fear: That ſo long " as he ſhould live, the earth would furniſh him all things " neceſſary for his ſubſiſtence, and that death would rid him " of a troubleſome companion (meaning his body) and ſet " him at full liberty." Calanus appeared more tractable; and, notwithſtanding the oppoſition, and even the prohibition of his ſuperior, who reproached him for his abject ſpirit, in ſtooping ſo low as to ſerve another maſter beſides God, he followed Oneſicritus, and went to Alexander's court, who received him with great demonſtrations of joy.

We find by hiſtory, that this people uſed often to employ parables and ſimilitudes for conveying their thoughts. One day as he was diſcourſing with Alexander, upon the maxims of wiſe policy and a prudent adminiſtration, he exhibited to that prince a ſenſible image, and a natural emblem of his empire. He laid upon the ground a great ox-hide, which was very dry and ſhrunk up, and then ſet his foot upon one end of it. The hide being preſſed ſo gave way, and all the other ends flew up: going thus quite round the hide, and preſſing the ſeveral ends of it, he made him obſerve, that whilſt he lowered it on one ſide, all the reſt roſe up, till treading at laſt upon the middle, the hide fell equally on all ſides. By this image he hinted to him, that it would be proper for him to reſide in the centre of his dominions, and not undertake ſuch long journies. We ſhall ſoon ſhow the reader, the manner in which this philoſopher ended his days.

[n] Alexander being determined to continue the war as long as he ſhould meet with new nations, and to look upon them as enemies whilſt they ſhould live independent on him, was meditating about paſſing the Hyphaſus. He was told, that after paſſing that river he muſt travel eleven days through deſarts, and that then he would arrive at the Ganges, the greateſt river in all India. That farther in the country lived the *Gangaridæ* and the *Praſii*, whoſe king was preparing to oppoſe his entering his dominions, at the head of twenty thouſand horſe, and two hundred thouſand foot, re-inforced by two thouſand chariots; and, which ſtruck the greateſt terror, with three thouſand elephants. A report of this being ſpread through the army, ſurpriſed all the ſoldiers, and raiſed a general murmur. The Macedonians, who, after having travelled through ſo many countries, and being grown grey in the field, were inceſſantly directing their eyes and wiſhes towards their dear, native country, made loud complaints, that Alexander ſhould every day heap war upon war, and danger on danger. They had undergone, but juſt before, inexpreſſible fatigues, having been expoſed to rain, accompanied with ſtorms and thunder, for above two months. Some bewailed their calamities in ſuch terms as raiſed compaſſion; others inſolently cried aloud, that they would march no farther.

Alexander, being informed of this tumult, and that ſecret aſſemblies were formed in his camp, to prevent the ill conſequences of them, ſent for the officers into his tent, and commanding them to call the ſoldiers together, he made the following ſpeech: "I am not ignorant, O ſoldiers, that the "Indians have publiſhed ſeveral things, purpoſely to terrify "us; but ſuch diſcourſes and artifices are not unuſual to "you. Thus the Perſians deſcribed the ſtraits at Cilicia, "the vaſt plains of Meſopotamia, the rivers Tygris and Eu"phrates, as ſo many inſurmountable difficulties, and yet "your bravery conquered them. Do you repent you have "followed me thus far? As your glorious deeds have ſub"dued for you a multitude of provinces, as you have ex-

[n] Q. Curt. l. ix. c. 1—9. Arrian. l. v. p. 221—234. & l. vi. p. 255—259. Plut. in Alex. p. 699, 701. Diod. l. xvii. p. 559—570. Juſtin. l. xii. c. 9, 10.

" tended your conqueſts beyond the Iaxarthes and mount " Caucaſus; as you ſee the rivers of India flow through the " midſt of your empire; why are you afraid of croſſing the " Hyphaſus, and of ſetting up your trophies on the banks " of it, as on thoſe of the Hydaſpes? What! can the ele- " phants, whoſe number is ſo falſely augmented, terrify you " to ſuch a degree? But has not experience taught you, that " they are more deſtructive to their own maſters than to the " enemy? Endeavours are uſed to intimidate you by the " dreadful idea of innumerable armies; but are they more " numerous than thoſe of Darius? It is ſure too late for you " to count the legions of the enemy, after your victories " have made Aſia a deſart. It was when you croſſed the " Helleſpont that you ought to have reflected on the ſmall " number of your forces: but now the Scythians form part of " our army; the Bactrians, the Sogdians, and the *Dahæ* are " with us, and fight for our glory. I, however, do not " depend on thoſe Barbarians. It is on you only that I rely; " your victorious arms only are preſent to my imagination, " and your courage alone aſſures me ſucceſs. So long as I " ſhall be ſurrounded with you in fight, I ſhall not have any " occaſion to count the number of my troops nor that of the " enemy, provided you go on to battle with the ſame marks " of joy and confidence you have hitherto diſcovered. Not " only our glory, but even our ſafety, is at ſtake. Should " we now retreat, it will be ſuppoſed that we fly before our " enemies, and from that moment we ſhall appear as mean " as the enemy will be judged formidable; for you are ſen- " ſible, that in war reputation is every thing. It is in my " power to make uſe of authority, and yet I employ intrea- " ties only. Do not abandon (I conjure you) I do not ſay " your king and maſter, but your pupil and companion in " battles. Do not break to pieces in my hand that glorious " palm, which will ſoon, unleſs envy rob me of ſo great a " glory, equal me to Hercules, and to Bacchus." As the ſoldiers ſtood with their eyes caſt on the ground, and did not once open their lips, " What! (continued he) do I then ſpeak " to the deaf? Will no one liſten to me, nor condeſcend to " anſwer? Alas! I am abandoned, I am betrayed, I am " delivered up to the enemy. But——I will advance ſtill " farther, though I go alone. The Scythians and Bactrians,

" more faithful than you, will follow me whitherſoever I " lead them. Return then to your country, and boaſt, ye " deſerters of your king, that you have abandoned him. As " for myſelf, I will here meet either with the victory you " deſpair of, or with a glorious death, which henceforwards " ought to be the ſole object of my wiſhes."

Notwithſtanding this lively, pathetic ſpeech, the ſoldiers ſtill kept a profound ſilence. They waited in expectation of hearing their commanders and chief officers remonſtrate to the king, that their affection was as ſtrong as ever; but that as their bodies were covered with wounds, and worn out with toils, it would be impoſſible for them to continue the war. However, not one of them preſumed to addreſs him in their favour. The example of Clitus, and that of Calliſthenes, were ſtill recent. The officers, who were then with him, had an hundred times ventured their lives in battle for their prince; but they had not the courage to hazard the loſing of their fortunes by telling him the truth. Whilſt therefore the ſoldiers, as well as officers, continued dumb, without once daring to lift up their eyes, there roſe on a ſudden a murmur, which increaſing by inſenſible degrees, broke into ſuch deep groans and floods of tears, that the king himſelf, whoſe anger was now changed into compaſſion, could not forbear weeping.

At laſt, whilſt the whole aſſembly were in tears, and in deep ſilence, Cœnus took courage, and drew near to the throne, diſcovering by his air and action, that he deſired to ſpeak. And when the ſoldiers ſaw him take off his helmet, that being the cuſtom when any perſon ſpoke to the king, they beſought him to plead the cauſe of the army; and accordingly he ſpoke as follows: " No, Sir, we are not changed " with regard to our affection for you: GOD forbid that ſo great " a calamity ſhould ever befal us. We ſhall always retain " the ſame zeal, the ſame affection and fidelity. We are " ready to follow you at the hazard of our lives, and to " march whitherſoever you ſhall think fit to lead us. But, " if your ſoldiers may be allowed to lay before you their ſen- " timents ſincerely, and without diſguiſe, they beſeech you " to condeſcend ſo far as to give ear to their reſpectful com- " plaints, which nothing but the moſt extreme neceſſity could " have extorted from them. The greatneſs, Sir, of your

" exploits has conquered, not only your enemies, but even " your ſoldiers themſelves. We have done all that it was " poſſible for men to do. We have croſſed ſeas and lands. " We ſhall ſoon have marched to the end of the world; and " you are meditating the conqueſt of another, by going in " ſearch of new Indias, unknown to the Indians themſelves. " Such a thought may be worthy of your valour, but it ſur- " paſſes ours, and our ſtrength ſtill more. Behold thoſe " ghaſtly faces, and thoſe bodies covered over with wounds " and ſcars. You are ſenſible how numerous we were at " your firſt ſetting out, and you ſee what now remains of us. " The few, who have eſcaped ſo many toils and dangers, " are neither brave nor ſtrong enough to follow you. All of " them long to reviſit their relations and country, and to enjoy " in peace the fruit of their labours and your victories. " Forgive them a deſire natural to all men. It will be glori- " ous, Sir, for you to have fixed ſuch boundaries to your " fortune, as only your moderation could preſcribe you; " and to have vanquiſhed yourſelf, after having conquered " all your enemies."

Cœnus had no ſooner ſpoke, but there were heard, on all ſides, cries and confuſed voices intermixed with tears, calling upon the king as " their lord and their father." Afterwards, all the reſt of the officers, eſpecially thoſe who aſſumed a greater authority becauſe of their age, and for that reaſon could be better excuſed the freedom they took, made the ſame humble requeſt: but ſtill the king would not comply with it. It muſt coſt a monarch many pangs, before he can prevail with himſelf to comply with things repugnant to his inclination. Alexander therefore ſhut himſelf up two days in his tent, without once ſpeaking to any one, not even to his moſt familiar friends, in order to ſee whether ſome change might not be wrought in the army, as frequently happens on ſuch occaſions. But finding it would be impoſſible to change the reſolution of the ſoldiers, he commanded them to prepare for their return. This news filled the whole army with inexpreſſible joy; and Alexander never appeared greater, or more glorious, than on this day, in which he deſigned, for the ſake of his ſubjects, to ſacrifice ſome part of his glory and grandeur. The whole camp echoed with praiſes and bleſſings of Alexander, for having ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by his

own army, who was invincible to the reſt of the world. No triumph is comparable to thoſe acclamations and applauſes that come from the heart, and which are the lively and ſincere overflowings of it; and it is great pity that princes are not more affected with them.

Alexander had not ſpent above three or four months, at moſt, in conquering all the country between the Indus and the Hyphaſus, called to this day *Pengab* that is, *the five waters*, from the five rivers which compoſe it. Before his ſetting out, he raiſed twelve altars, to ſerve as ſo many trophies and thankſgivings for the victories he had obtained.

Theſe inſtances of gratitude, in regard to the gods, were attended with the moſt incredible marks of vanity. The altars which he erected in their honour were ſeventy-five feet high. He cauſed a camp to be marked out, three times as large again as his own, and ſurrounded it with foſſes fifty feet in depth by ten broad. He ordered the foot to prepare, and leave each in his tent two beds, ſeven feet and a half in length: and the cavalry to make mangers for the horſes of twice the uſual dimenſions. Every thing elſe was in proportion. Alexander's view in theſe orders, which flowed from an extravagance of vanity, was to leave poſterity monuments of his heroic and more than human grandeur, and to have it believed, that himſelf and his followers were ſuperior to all other mortals.

He afterwards croſſed the Hydraotes, and left Porus all the lands he had conquered, as far as the Hyphaſus. He alſo reconciled this monarch with Taxilus, and ſettled a peace between them by means of an alliance, equally advantageous to both. [•] From thence he went and encamped on the banks of the Aceſines; but great rains having made this river overflow its banks, and the adjacent countries being under water, he was obliged to remove his camp higher up. Here a fit of ſickneſs carried off Cœnus, whoſe loſs was bewailed by the king and the whole army. There was not a greater officer among the Macedonians, and he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in a very peculiar manner in every battle in which he engaged. He was one of thoſe ſingularly good men, zealous for the public, all whoſe actions are free from ſelf-intereſted or am-

• Arr. in Ind. p. 319. Strab. lib xv. p. 692.

bitious views, and who bear ſo great a love to their king, as to dare to tell him the truth, be the conſequence what it will. But now Alexander was preparing for his departure.

His fleet conſiſted of eight hundred veſſels, as well gallies as boats, to carry the troops and proviſions. Every thing being ready, the whole army embarked, about the ſetting of the Pleiades or ſeven ſtars, according to Ariſtobulus, that is, about the end of October. The fifth day, the fleet arrived where the Hydaſpes and Aceſines mix their ſtreams. Here the ſhips were very much ſhattered, becauſe theſe rivers unite with ſuch prodigious rapidity, that as great ſtorms ariſe in this part, as in the open ſea. At laſt he came into the country of the *Oxydracæ* and the *Malli*, the moſt valiant people in thoſe parts. Theſe were perpetually at war one with another; but having united for their mutual ſafety, they had drawn together ten thouſand horſe, and fourſcore thouſand foot, all vigorous young men, with nine hundred chariots. However, Alexander defeated them in ſeveral engagements, diſpoſſeſſed them of ſome ſtrong holds, and at laſt marched againſt the city of the *Oxydracæ*, whither the greateſt part were retired. Immediately he cauſes the ſcaling-ladders to be ſet up; and, as they were not nimble enough for Alexander, he forces one of the ſcaling-ladders from a ſoldier; runs up the firſt (covered with his ſhield) and gets to the top of the wall, followed only by Peuceſtes and Limneus. The ſoldiers, believing him to be in danger, mounted ſwiftly to ſuccour him; but the ladders breaking, the king was left alone. Alexander, ſeeing himſelf the butt, againſt which all the darts were levelled, both from the towers and from the rampart, was ſo raſh, rather than valiant, as to leap into the city, which was crouded with the enemy, having nothing to expect, but to be either taken or killed before it would be poſſible for him to riſe, and without once having an opportunity to defend himſelf, or revenge his death. But, happily for him, he poiſed his body in ſuch a manner, that he fell upon his feet; and finding himſelf ſtanding, ſword in hand, he repulſed ſuch as were neareſt him, and even killed the general of the enemy who advanced to run him through. Happily for him a ſecond time, not far from thence there ſtood a great tree, againſt the trunk of which he leaned, his ſhield receiving all the darts that were ſhot at him from a diſtance; for no one dared to approach him, ſo great

was the dread which the boldneſs of the enterpriſe, and the fire that ſhot from his eyes, had ſtruck into the enemy. At laſt an Indian let fly an arrow three feet long (that being the length of their arrows) which piercing his coat of mail, entered a conſiderable way into his body, a little above the right ſide. So great a quantity of blood iſſued from the wound, that he dropped his arms, and lay as dead. Behold then this [p] mighty conqueror, this vanquiſher of nations, upon the point of loſing his life, not at the head of his armies, but in a corner of an obſcure city, into which his raſhneſs had thrown him. The Indian who had wounded Alexander, ran, in the greateſt tranſports of joy, to ſtrip him; however, Alexander no ſooner felt the hand of his enemy upon him, but, fired with the thirſt of revenge, he recalled his ſpirits; and laying hold of the Indian, as he had no arms, he plunged his dagger into his ſide. Some of his chief officers, as Peuceſtes, Leonatus, and Timæus, who had got to the top of the wall with ſome ſoldiers, came up that inſtant, and attempting impoſſibilities for the ſake of ſaving their ſovereign's life, they form themſelves as a bulwark round his body, and ſuſtain the whole effort of the enemy. It was then that a mighty battle was fought round him. In the mean time the ſoldiers, who had climbed up with the officers above mentioned, having broke the bolts of a little gate ſtanding between two towers, they, by that means, let in the Macedonians. Soon after the town was taken, and all the inhabitants were put to the ſword, without diſtinction of age or ſex.

The firſt care they took was to carry Alexander into his tent. Being got into it, the * ſurgeons cut off, ſo very dexterouſly, the wood of the ſhaft which had been ſhot into his body, that they did not move the ſteel point; and, after undreſſing him, they found it was a bearded arrow; † and that it could not be pulled out, without danger, unleſs the wound were widened. The king bore the operation with incredible reſolution, ſo that there was no occaſion for people to hold him. The inciſion being made, and the arrow drawn out, ſo great an effuſion of blood enſued, that the king fainted away.

[p] Plut. de fortun. Alex. p. 344.

* In theſe ages they and phyſicians were the ſame thing.

† So arrows are called that have beards at their points like fiſh-hooks. *Animadvertunt hamos ineſſe telo.*

Every one thought him dead; but the blood being ſtopped, he recovered by degrees, and knew the perſons about him. All that day, and the whole night after, the army continued under arms round his tent; and would not ſtir from their poſts, till certain news was brought of his being better, and that he began to take a little reſt.

At the end of the ſeven days he had employed for his recovery, before his wound was cloſed, as he knew that the report of his death increaſed among the Barbarians, he cauſed two veſſels to be joined together, and had his tent pitched in the middle, in ſight of every one; purpoſely to ſhew himſelf to thoſe who imagined him dead, and to ruin, by this means, all their projects, and the hopes with which they flattered themſelves. He afterwards went down the river, going before at ſome diſtance from the reſt of the fleet, for fear leſt the noiſe of the oars ſhould keep him from ſleep, which he very much wanted. When he was a little better, and able to go out, the ſoldiers, who were upon guard, brought him his litter, but he refuſed it, and calling for his horſe, mounted him. At this ſight, all the ſhore, and the neighbouring foreſts echoed with the acclamations of the army, who imagined they ſaw him riſe, in a manner, from the grave. Being come near his tent, he alighted, and walked a little way, ſurrounded with a great number of ſoldiers, ſome of whom kiſſed his hands, whilſt others claſped his knees; others again were contented with only touching his clothes, and with ſeeing him; but all in general burſt into tears, and calling for a thouſand bleſſings from heaven, wiſhed him long life, and an uninterrupted ſeries of proſperity.

At this inſtant deputies came from the *Malli*, with the chiefs of the *Oxydracæ*, being one hundred and ſixty, beſides the governors of the cities and of the province, who brought him preſents, and paid him homage, pleading in excuſe for not having done it before, their ſtrong love of liberty. They declared, that they were ready to receive for their governor, whomſoever he pleaſed to nominate; that they would pay him tribute, and give him hoſtages. He demanded a thouſand of the chief perſons of their nation, whom he alſo might make uſe of in war, till he had ſubjected all the country. They put into his hands ſuch of their countrymen as were handſomeſt and beſt ſhaped, with five hundred chariots, though not

demanded by him; at which the king was ſo much pleaſed, that he gave them back their hoſtages, and appointed Philip their governor.

Alexander, who was overjoyed at this embaſſy, and found his ſtrength increaſe daily, taſted with ſo much the greater pleaſure the fruits both of his victory and health, as he had like to have loſt them for ever. His chief courtiers, and moſt intimate friends, thought it a proper juncture, during this calm and ſerenity of his mind, for them to unboſom themſelves, and expoſe their fears to him: it was Craterus ſpoke on this occaſion. "We begin, royal Sir, to breathe and live, now "we find you in the condition to which the goodneſs of the "gods has reſtored you. But how great were our fears and "our griefs! How ſeverely did we reproach ourſelves, for "having abandoned, in ſuch an extremity, our king, our "father! It was not in our power to follow him; but this did "not extenuate our guilt, and we look upon ourſelves as cri-"minals, in not having attempted impoſſibilities for your "ſake. But, Sir, never plunge us in ſuch deep affliction "hereafter. Does a wretched paltry town deſerve to be "bought at ſo dear a price as the loſs of your life? Leave "thoſe petty exploits and enterpriſes to us, and preſerve your "perſon for ſuch occaſions only as are worthy of you. We "ſtill ſhudder with horror, when we reflect on what we ſo "lately were ſpectators of. We have ſeen the moment, when "the moſt abject hands upon earth were going to ſeiſe the "greateſt prince in the univerſe, and deſpoil him of his royal "robes. Permit us, Sir, to ſay, you are not your own "maſter, but that you owe yourſelf to us: we have a right "over your life, ſince ours depends on it; and we dare take "the freedom to conjure you, as being your ſubjects and "your children, to be more careful of ſo precious a life, if "not for your own ſake, at leaſt for ours, and for the felicity "of the univerſe."

The king was ſtrongly touched with theſe teſtimonies of their affection, and having embraced them ſeverally with inexpreſſible tenderneſs, he anſwered as follows: "I cannot "enough thank all preſent, who are the flower of my citizens "and friends, not only for your having this day preferred my "ſafety to your own, but alſo for the ſtrong proofs you have "given me of your zeal and affection, from the beginning of

" this war; and if any thing is capable of making me wiſh " for a longer life, it is the pleaſure of enjoying, for years to " come, ſuch valuable friends as you. But give me leave to " obſerve, that in ſome caſes we differ very much in opinion. " You wiſh to enjoy me long; and even, if it were poſſible, for " ever; but as to myſelf, I compute the length of my exiſt- " ence, not by years, but by glory. I might have confined " my ambition within the narrow limits of Macedonia; and, " contented with the kingdom my anceſtors left me, have " waited, in the midſt of pleaſures and indolence, an inglori- " ous old age. I own, that if my victories, not my years, " are computed, I ſhall ſeem to have lived long; but can you " imagine, that after having made Europe and Aſia but one " empire, after having conquered the two nobleſt parts of the " world, in the tenth year of my reign, and the thirtieth of my " age, that it will become me to ſtop in the midſt of ſo exalted " a career, and diſcontinue the purſuit of glory, to which I " have entirely devoted myſelf? Know, that this glory en- " nobles all things, and gives a true and ſolid grandeur to " whatever appears inſignificant. In what place ſoever I " may fight, I ſhall fancy myſelf upon the ſtage of the world, " and in preſence of all mankind. I confeſs that I have " achieved mighty things hitherto; but the country we are " now in, reproaches me that a woman has done ſtill greater. " It is Semiramis I mean. How many nations did ſhe con- " quer! How many cities were built by her! What magni- " ficent and ſtupendous works did ſhe finiſh! How ſhame- " ful is it, that I ſhould not yet have attained to ſo exalted " a pitch of glory! Do but ſecond my ardour, and I ſhall " ſoon ſurpaſs her. Defend me only from ſecret cabals, and " domeſtic treaſons, by which moſt princes loſe their lives, I " take the reſt upon myſelf, and will be anſwerable to you " for all the events of the war."

This ſpeech gives us a perfect idea of Alexander's character. He had no notion of true glory. He did not know either the principle, the rule, or end of it. He certainly placed it where it was not. He was ſtrongly prejudiced in vulgar error, and cheriſhed it. He fancied himſelf born merely for glory; and that none could be acquired but by unbounded, unjuſt, and irregular conduct. In his impetuous ſallies after a miſtaken glory, he followed neither reaſon,

virtue, nor humanity; and, as if his ambitious caprice ought to have been a rule and ſtandard to all other men, he was ſurpriſed that neither his officers nor ſoldiers would enter into his views; and they lent themſelves very unwillingly, to ſupport his ridiculous enterpriſes.

Alexander, after having ended his ſpeech, diſmiſſed the aſſembly, and continued encamped for ſeveral days in this place. He afterwards went upon the river, and his army marched after him upon the banks. He then came among the *Sabracæ*, a powerful nation of Indians. Theſe had levied ſixty thouſand foot and ſix thouſand horſe, and re-inforced them with five hundred chariots; however, the arrival of Alexander ſpread a terror through the whole country, and accordingly they ſent ambaſſadors to make their ſubmiſſion. After having built another city, which he alſo called Alexandria, he arrived in the territories of Muſicanus, a very rich prince, and afterwards in thoſe of the king of Samus. At the ſiege of one of this king's towns, Ptolemy was dangerouſly wounded; for the Indians had poiſoned all their arrows and ſwords, ſo that the wounds they made were mortal. Alexander, who had the higheſt love and eſteem for Ptolemy, was very much afflicted, and cauſed him to be brought in his bed near him, that he himſelf might have an eye to his cure. He was his near relation, and, according to ſome writers, a natural ſon of Philip. Ptolemy was one of the braveſt men in the army, was highly eſteemed in war, and had greater talents for peace. He was averſe to luxury, vaſtly generous, eaſy of acceſs, and did not imitate the pomp, which wealth and proſperity had made the reſt of the Macedonian noblemen aſſume: in a word, it is hard to ſay, whether he were more eſteemed by his ſovereign or his country. We are told, there appeared to him in a dream a dragon, which preſented him an herb, as an effectual remedy; and that upon his waking, he ordered it to be ſent for; when laying it upon the wound, it was healed in a few days, to the univerſal joy of the army.

[q] The king continuing his voyage, arrived at Patala, about the beginning of the dog-days, that is, about the end of July; ſo that the fleet was nine months at leaſt from its ſetting out,

[q] Strab. l. xv. p. 692

till its arrival at that place. There the river Indus divides into two large arms, and forms an iſland, but much larger, like the Delta of the Nile; and hence the city above mentioned received its name, *Patala*, according to [r] Arrian, ſignifying, in the Indian tongue, the ſame as *Delta* in the Greek. Alexander cauſed a citadel to be built in Patala, as alſo an harbour and an arſenal for the ſhipping. This being done, he embarked on the right arm of the river, in order to ſail as far as the ocean, expoſing in this manner ſo many brave men to the mercy of a river with which they were wholly unacquainted. The only conſolation they had in this raſh enterpriſe, was Alexander's uninterrupted ſucceſs. When he had ſailed * twenty leagues, the pilots told him that they began to perceive the ſea-air, and therefore believed that the ocean could not be far off. Upon this news, leaping for joy, he beſought the ſailors to row with all their ſtrength, and told the ſoldiers, "That they at laſt were come to the end of their "toils, which they had ſo earneſtly deſired; that now nothing "could oppoſe their valour, nor add to their glory; that "without fighting any more, or ſpilling of blood, they were "maſters of the univerſe; that their exploits had the ſame "boundaries with nature; and that they would be ſpectators "of things, known only to the immortal gods."

Being come nearer the ſea, a circumſtance new and unheard of by the Macedonians, threw them into the utmoſt confuſion, and expoſed the fleet to the greateſt danger; and this was the ebbing and flowing of the ocean. Forming a judgment of this vaſt ſea, from that of the Mediterranean, the only one they knew, and whoſe ebbings are imperceptible, they were very much aſtoniſhed when they ſaw it riſe to a great height, and overflow the country; and conſidered it as a mark of the anger of the gods, to puniſh their raſhneſs. They were no leſs ſurpriſed and terrified, ſome hours after, when they ſaw the ebbing of the ſea, which now withdrew as it had before advanced, leaving thoſe lands uncovered it had ſo lately overflowed. The fleet was very much ſhattered, and the ſhips being now upon dry land, the fields were covered with clothes, with broken oars and planks, as after a great ſtorm.

[r] Arrian. in Indic. p. 314.

* Four hundred furlongs.

At laſt Alexander, after having ſailed full nine months in rivers, arrived at the ocean, where gazing with the utmoſt eagerneſs upon that vaſt expanſe of waters, he imagined that this ſight, worthy ſo great a conqueror as himſelf, greatly overpaid all the toils he had undergone, and the many thouſand men he had loſt, to arrive at it. He then offered ſacrifices to the gods, and particularly to Neptune; threw into the ſea the bulls he had ſlaughtered, and a great number of golden cups; and beſought the gods not to ſuffer any mortal after him, to exceed the bounds of his expedition. Finding that he had extended his conqueſts to the extremities of the earth on that ſide, he imagined he had completed his mighty deſign; and, highly delighted with himſelf, he returned to rejoin the reſt of his fleet and army, which waited for him at Patala, and in the neighbourhood of it.

SECT. XVII. *Alexander, in his march through deſarts, is grievouſly diſtreſſed by famine. He arrives at Paſagardæ, where Cyrus's monument ſtood. Orſines, a powerful lord, is put to death by the clandeſtine intrigues of Bagoas the eunuch. Calanus the Indian aſcends a funeral pile, where he puts himſelf to death. Alexander marries Statira, the daughter of Darius. Harpalus arrives at Athens; Demoſthenes is baniſhed. The Macedonian ſoldiers make an inſurrection, which Alexander appeaſes. He recalls Antipater from Macedonia, and ſends Craterus in his room. The king's ſorrow for the death of Hephæſtion.*

ALEXANDER being returned to Patala, prepared all things for the departure of his fleet. He appointed Nearchus admiral of it, who was the only officer that had the courage to accept of this commiſſion, which was a very hazardous one, becauſe they were to ſail over a ſea entirely unknown to them. The king was very much pleaſed at his accepting of it; and, after teſtifying his acknowledgment upon that account in the moſt obliging terms, he commanded him to take the beſt ſhips in the fleet, and to go and ſound the ſea-coaſt extending from the Indus to the

[s] Arrian. in Indic. p. 334

bottom of the Perſian gulph: and, after having given theſe orders, he ſet out by land for Babylon.

[t] Nearchus did not leave the Indus at the ſame time with Alexander. It was not yet the ſeaſon proper for ſailing. It was ſummer, when the ſouthern ſea-winds riſe; and the ſeaſon of the north-winds, which blow in winter, was not yet come. He therefore did not ſet ſail till about the end of September, which was too ſoon; and accordingly he was incommoded by winds ſome days after his departure, and obliged to ſhelter himſelf for twenty-four days.

We are obliged for theſe particulars to Arrian, who has given us an exact journal of this voyage, copied from that of Nearchus the admiral.

Alexander, after having left Patala, marched through the country of the *Oritæ*, the capital whereof was called Ora or Rhambacis. Here he was in ſuch want of proviſion, that he loſt a great number of ſoldiers; and brought back from India ſcarce the fourth part of his army, which had conſiſted of an hundred and twenty thouſand foot, and fifteen thouſand horſe. Sickneſs, bad food, and the exceſſive heats, had ſwept them away in multitudes; but famine made a ſtill greater havoc among the troops in this barren country, which was neither plowed nor ſowed; its inhabitants being ſavages, who fared very hard, and led a moſt uncomfortable life. After they had eaten all the palm-tree roots that could be met with, they were obliged to feed upon the beaſts of burthen, and next upon their war-horſes; and when they had no beaſts left to carry their baggage, they were forced to burn thoſe rich ſpoils, for the ſake of which the Macedonians had ran to the extremities of the earth. The plague, a diſeaſe which generally accompanies famine, completed the calamity of the ſoldiers, and deſtroyed great numbers of them.

After marching threeſcore days, Alexander arrived on the confines of Gedroſia, where he found plenty of all things: for the ſoil was not only very fruitful, but the kings and great men, who lay neareſt that country, ſent him all kind of proviſions. He continued ſome time here, in order to refreſh his army. The governors of India having ſent, by his order, a great number of horſes, and all kinds of beaſts of burthen,

[t] Arrian. p. 335.

from the ſeveral kingdoms ſubject to him, he remounted his troops; equipped thoſe who had loſt every thing; and ſoon after preſented all of them with arms, as beautiful as thoſe they had before, which it was very eaſy for him to do, as they were upon the confines of Perſia, at that time in peace, and in a very flouriſhing condition.

He arrived in Carmania, now called Kerman, and went through it, not with the air and equipage of a warrior and a conqueror, but in a kind of maſquerade, and Bacchanalian feſtivity; committing the moſt riotous and extravagant actions. He was drawn by eight horſes, himſelf being ſeated on a magnificent chariot, above which a ſcaffold was raiſed, in the form of a ſquare ſtage, where he paſſed the days and nights in feaſts and carouſing. This chariot was preceded and followed by an infinite number of others, ſome of which, in the ſhape of tents, were covered with rich carpets, and purple coverlets; and others, ſhaped like cradles, were over-ſhadowed with branches of trees. On the ſides of the roads, and at the doors of houſes, a great number of caſks ready broached were placed, whence the ſoldiers drew wine in large flaggons, cups, and goblets, prepared for that purpoſe.

The whole country echoed with the ſound of inſtruments, and the howling of the Bacchanals, who, with their hair diſhevelled, and like ſo many frantic creatures, ran up and down, abandoning themſelves in every kind of licentiouſneſs. All this he did in imitation of the triumph of Bacchus, who, as we are told, croſſed all Aſia in this equipage, after he had conquered India. This riotous, diſſolute march laſted ſeven days, during all which time the army was never ſober. It was very happy, ſays Quintus Curtius, for them, that the conquered nations did not think of attacking them in this condition; for a thouſand reſolute men, well armed, might with great eaſe have defeated the conquerors of the world, whilſt thus plunged in wine and exceſs.

[a] Nearchus ſtill keeping along the ſea-coaſt, from the mouth of the Indus, came at laſt into the Perſian gulph, and arrived at the iſland of Harmuſia, now called Ormus. He there was informed, that Alexander was not above five days' journey from him. Having left the fleet in a ſecure

[a] Arrian. in Indic. p. 348—352.

place, he went to meet Alexander, accompanied only by four perſons. The king was very anxious about his fleet. When news was brought him that Nearchus was arrived almoſt alone, he imagined that it had been entirely deſtroyed, and that Nearchus had been ſo very happy as to eſcape from the general defeat. His arrival confirmed him ſtill more in his opinion, when he beheld a company of pale, lean creatures, whoſe countenances were ſo much changed, that it was ſcarce poſſible to know them again. Taking Nearchus aſide, he told him, that he was overjoyed at his return, but at the ſame time was inconſolable for the loſs of his fleet. "Your fleet, royal Sir," cried he immediately, "thanks to the gods, is not loſt:" Upon which he related the condition in which he had left it. Alexander could not refrain from tears, and confeſſed, that this happy news gave him greater pleaſure than the conqueſt of all Aſia. He heard, with uncommon delight, the account Nearchus gave of his voyage, and the diſcoveries he had made; and bid him return back, and go quite up the Euphrates as far as Babylon, purſuant to the firſt orders he had given him.

In Carmania, many complaints were made to Alexander, concerning governors and other officers, who had grievouſly oppreſſed the people of various provinces during his abſence: for, fully perſuaded he would never return, they had exerciſed every ſpecies of rapine, tyranny, cruelty, and oppreſſion. But Alexander, ſtrongly affected with their grievances, and pierced to the very ſoul with their juſt complaints, put to death as many as were found guilty of mal-adminiſtration, and with them ſix hundred ſoldiers, who had been the inſtruments of their exactions and other crimes. He even afterwards treated with the ſame ſeverity, all ſuch of his officers as were convicted of the like guilt, ſo that his government was beloved by all the conquered nations. He was of opinion, that a prince owes theſe examples of ſeverity to his equity, which ought to check every kind of irregularity; to his glory, to prove he does not connive, or ſhare in the injuſtice committed in his name; to the conſolation of his ſubjects, whom he ſupplies with a vengeance themſelves ought never to exerciſe; in fine, to the ſafety of his dominions, which, by ſo equitable an adminiſtration, is ſecured from many dangers, and very often from inſurrections. It is a great unhappineſs to a kingdom, when every part of it reſounds with exactions, vexations,

oppreſſions, and corruption, and not ſo much as a ſingle man is puniſhed, as a terror to the reſt; and that the whole weight of the public authority falls only upon the people, and never on thoſe who ruin them.

The great pleaſure Alexander took, in the account which Nearchus gave him of his ſucceſsful voyage, made that prince have a great inclination to go upon the ocean. He propoſed no leſs than to ſail from the Perſian gulph, round Arabia and Africa, and to return into the Mediterranean by the Straits of Gibraltar, called at that time Hercules's pillars; a voyage which had been ſeveral times attempted, and once performed, by order of a king of Egypt, called Nechao, as I have obſerved elſewhere. It was afterwards his deſign, when he ſhould have humbled the pride of Carthage, againſt which he was greatly exaſperated, to croſs into Spain, called by the Greeks Iberia, from the river Iberus: he next was to go over the Alps, and coaſt along Italy, where he would have had but a ſhort paſſage into Epirus, and from thence into Macedonia. For this purpoſe, he ſent orders to the viceroys of Meſopotamia and Syria, to build in ſeveral parts of the Euphrates, and particularly at Thapſacus, ſhips ſufficient for that enterpriſe; and he cauſed to be felled, on mount Libanus, a great number of trees, which were to be carried into the above-mentioned city. But this project, as well as a great many more which he meditated, were all defeated by his early death.

Continuing his march, he went to Paſſagardæ, a city of Perſia. Orſines, was governor of the country, and the greateſt nobleman in it. He deſcended from Cyrus; and, beſides the wealth he inherited from his anceſtors, he himſelf had amaſſed great treaſures, having, for many years, ruled a large country. He had done the king a ſignal piece of ſervice. The perſon, who governed the provinces during Alexander's expedition into India, happened to die; when Orſines obſerving, that, for want of a governor, all things were running to confuſion, took the adminiſtration upon himſelf, compoſed matters very happily, and preſerved them in the utmoſt tranquillity, till Alexander's arrival. He went to meet him, with preſents of all kinds for himſelf, as well as his officers. Theſe conſiſted of a great number of fine managed horſes, chariots enriched

with gold and ſilver, precious moveables, jewels, gold vaſes of prodigious weight, purple robes, and four thouſand talents of ſilver in ſpecie.* However, this generous magnificence proved fatal to him; for he preſented ſuch gifts to the principal grandees of the court, as infinitely exceeded their expectations, but gave nothing to the eunuch Bagoas, the king's favourite; and this not through forgetfulneſs, but out of contempt. Some perſons telling him how much the king loved Bagoas, he anſwered, "I honour the king's "friends, but not an infamous eunuch." Theſe words being told Bagoas, he employed all his credit to ruin a prince deſcended from the nobleſt blood in the Eaſt, and irreproachable in his conduct. He even bribed ſome of Orſines's attendants, giving them inſtructions how to impeach him at a proper ſeaſon; and in the mean time, whenever he was alone with the king, he filled his mind with ſuſpicions and diſtruſt, letting drop ambiguous expreſſions of that nobleman, as if by chance; and diſſembling very artfully the motives of his diſcontent. Nevertheleſs, the king ſuſpended his judgment for the preſent, but diſcovered leſs eſteem than before for Orſines, who knew nothing of what was plotting againſt him, ſo ſecretly the affair was carried on; and the eunuch, in his private diſcourſes with Alexander, was perpetually charging him either with exactions or treaſon.

The great danger to which princes are expoſed, is the ſuffering themſelves to be prejudiced and over-reached in this manner by their favourites; a danger ſo common that St. Bernard, writing to Pope Eugenius, [x] aſſures him, that if he were exempt from this weakneſs, he may boaſt himſelf to be the only man in the world that is ſo. What is here ſpoken of princes, is applicable to all who repreſent them. Great men generally liſten with pleaſure to the ſlanderer; and for this reaſon, becauſe he generally puts on the maſk of affection and zeal, which ſooths their pride. Slander always makes ſome impreſſion on the moſt equitable minds; and leaves behind it ſuch dark and gloomy traces, as raiſe ſuſpicions, jealouſies, and diſtruſts. The artful ſlanderer is bold and indefatigable, becauſe he is ſure to eſcape unpuniſhed; and is ſenſible, that he runs but very little danger, in greatly

[x] De Conſider. lib. ii. c. 14.

* About 600,000l.

prejudicing others. With regard to the great, they ſeldom inquire into ſecret calumnies, either from indolence, giddineſs, or ſhame to appear ſuſpicious, fearful, or diffident; in a word, from their unwillingneſs to own that they were impoſed upon, and had abandoned themſelves to a raſh credulity. In this manner, the moſt unſullied virtue, and the moſt irreproachable fidelity, are frequently brought to inevitable ruin.

Of this we have a ſad example on the preſent occaſion. Bagoas, after having taken his meaſures at diſtance, at laſt gave birth to his dark deſign. Alexander, having cauſed the monument of Cyrus to be opened, in order to perform funeral honours to the aſhes of that great prince, found nothing in it, but an old rotten ſhield, two Scythian bows, and a ſcymitar; whereas he hoped to find it full of gold and ſilver, as the Perſians had reported. The king laid a golden crown on his urn, and covered it with his cloak; vaſtly ſurpriſed that ſo powerful and renowned a prince had not been buried with greater pomp than a private man. Bagoas thinking this a proper time for him to ſpeak, "Are we to "wonder, (ſays he) to find the tombs of kings ſo empty "ſince the houſes of governors and provinces are filled with "the gold of which they have deprived them? I, indeed, "had never ſeen this monument; but I have heard Darius "ſay, that immenſe treaſures were buried in it. Hence "flowed the unbounded liberality and profuſion of Orſines, "who, by beſtowing what he could not keep, without ruin-"ing himſelf, thought to make a merit of this in your "ſight." This charge was without the leaſt foundation; and yet the Magi, who guarded the ſepulchre, were put to the torture, but all to no purpoſe; and nothing was diſcovered relating to the pretended theft. Their ſilence, on this occaſion, ought naturally to have cleared Orſines; but the artful, inſinuating diſcourſes of Bagoas, had made a deep impreſſion on Alexander's mind, and by that means given calumny an eaſy acceſs to it. The accuſers, whom Bagoas had ſuborned, having made choice of a favourable moment, came and impeached Orſines, and charged him with the commiſſion of ſeveral odious crimes, and amongſt the reſt, with ſtealing the treaſures of the monument. At this charge, the

matter appeared no longer doubtful, and the indications were thought ſufficient; ſo that this prince was loaded with chains, before he ſo much as ſuſpected that any accuſation had been brought againſt him; and was put to death, without being ſo much as heard, or confronted with his accuſers. Too unhappy fate of kings, who do not hear and examine things in perſon; and who ſtill continue infatuated, notwithſtanding the numberleſs examples they read in hiſtory, of princes who have been betrayed in the like manner.

I have already ſaid, that there had followed the king an Indian, called Calanus, reputed the wiſeſt man of his country, who, though he profeſſed the practice of the moſt ſevere philoſophy, had however been perſuaded, in his extreme old age, to attend upon the court. [y] This man, having lived fourſcore and three years, without having been ever afflicted with ſickneſs; and having a very ſevere fit of the cholic, upon his arrival at Paſſagardæ, he reſolved to put himſelf to death. Reſolutely determined not to let the perfect health he had always enjoyed, be impaired by lingering pains; and being alſo aſſured of falling into the hands of phyſicians, and of being tortured with loads of medicine, he beſought the king to order the erecting of a funeral pile for him; and deſired, that after he had aſcended it, fire might be ſet to it. Alexander imagined Calanus might eaſily be diſſuaded from ſo dreadful a deſign; but finding, in ſpite of all the arguments he could uſe, that Calanus was ſtill inflexible, he at laſt was obliged to acquieſce with it. Calanus then rode on horſeback to the foot of the funeral pile; offered up his prayers to the gods; cauſed libations to be performed upon himſelf, and the reſt of the ceremonies to be obſerved which are practiſed at funerals; cut off a tuft of his hair, in imitation of victims; embraced ſuch of his friends as were preſent; intreated them to be merry that day, to feaſt and carouſe with Alexander; aſſuring them at the ſame time, that he would ſoon ſee that prince in Babylon. After ſaying theſe words he aſcended, with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, the funeral pile, laid himſelf down upon it, and covered his face; and, when the flame catched him, he did not make the leaſt motion; but with a patience and conſtancy that ſurpriſed the whole army,

[y] Arrian. lib. vii. p. 276. Diod. lib. vii. p. 573, 574. Plut. in Alex. p. 703.

continued in the poſture in which he at firſt had laid himſelf; and completed his ſacrifice, by dying purſuant to the cuſtom practiſed by the ſages of his country.

[z] The hiſtorian informs us, that people differed very much in opinion with reſpect to this action. Some condemned it, as ſuiting only a frantic, ſenſeleſs wretch; others imagined, he was prompted to it out of vain-glory, merely for the ſake of being gazed at, and to paſs for a miracle in conſtancy (and theſe were not miſtaken:) in fine, others applauded this falſe heroiſm, which had enabled him to triumph in this manner over ſorrow and death.

Alexander, being returned into his tent, after this dreadful ceremony, invited ſeveral of his friends and general officers to ſupper; and in compliance with Calanus's requeſt, and to do him honour, he propoſed a crown, as a reward for him who ſhould quaff moſt. He who conquered on this occaſion, was Promachus, who ſwallowed four meaſures of wine, that is, eighteen or twenty pints. After receiving the prize, which was a crown worth a * talent, he ſurvived his victory but three days. Of theſe gueſts, forty-one died of their intemperance: a ſcene, worthy of cloſing that which Calanus had a little before exhibited!

[a] From Paſſagardæ, Alexander came to Perſepolis; and, ſurveying the remains of the conflagration, was exaſperated againſt himſelf, for his folly in ſetting it on fire. From hence he advanced towards Suſa. Nearchus, in compliance with his orders, had begun to ſail up the Euphrates with his fleet; but, upon advice that Alexander was going to Suſa, he came down again to the mouth of the Paſi-tigris, and ſailed up this river to a bridge, where Alexander was to paſs it. Then the naval and land armies joined. The king offered to his gods ſacrifices, by way of thanks for his happy return, and great rejoicings were made in the camp. Nearchus received the honours due to him, for the care he had taken of the fleet; and for having conducted it ſo far ſafe, through numberleſs dangers.

Alexander found in Suſa all the captives of quality he had left there. He married Statira, Darius's eldeſt daughter, and

[z] Diodore. [a] Arrian. de Indic. p. 357, 358.

* A thouſand crowns.

gave the youngeſt to his dear Hephæſtion. And in order that, by making theſe marriages more common, his own might not be cenſured, he perſuaded the greateſt nobleman in his court, and his principal favourites, to imitate him. Accordingly they choſe from among the nobleſt families of Perſia, about fourſcore young maidens, whom they married. His deſign was, by theſe alliances, to cement ſo ſtrongly the union of the two nations, that they ſhould thenceforward form but one, under his empire. The nuptials were ſolemnized after the Perſian manner. He likewiſe feaſted all the reſt of the Macedonians who had married before in that country. It is related that there were nine thouſand gueſts at this feaſt, and that he gave each of them a golden cup for the libations.

Not ſatisfied with this bounty, he would alſo pay his ſoldiers' debts. But finding that ſeveral would not declare the ſum they owed, for fear of its being an artifice merely to diſcover thoſe among them who were too laviſh of their money, he appointed in his camp, offices, where all debts were paid, without aſking the name either of the debtor or creditor. His liberality was very great on this occaſion, and gave prodigious ſatisfaction; we are told that it amounted to near ten thouſand talents; * but his indulgence, in permitting every perſon to conceal his name, was a ſtill more agreeable circumſtance. He reproached the ſoldiers, for their ſeeming to ſuſpect the truth of his promiſe, and ſaid to them, † "That a king ought never to forfeit his word with his ſubjects; nor his ſubjects ſuſpect that he could be guilty of ſo ſhameful a prevarication." A truly royal maxim, as it forms the ſecurity of a people, and the moſt ſolid glory of a prince; which, at the ſame time, may be renounced for ever, by the violation of a ſingle promiſe; which in affairs of government is the moſt fatal of all errors.

And now there arrived at Suſa thirty thouſand Perſian young men, moſt of the ſame age, and called *Epigones*, that is *ſucceſſors;* as coming to relieve the old ſoldiers in their duty and long fatigues. Such only had been made choice of, as were the ſtrongeſt and beſt ſhaped in all Perſia; and had

* About fifteen hundred thouſand pounds.

† Ου γαρ χρηναι ωτ' αν τον βασιλεα αλλο τι η αληθευειν προς τους υπηκους, ωτε των αρσχομενων τινα αλλο τι η αλεθευειν δοκειν τον βασιλεα. ARRIAN.

been ſent to the governors of ſuch cities as were either founded or conquered by Alexander. Theſe had inſtructed them in military diſcipline, and in all things, relating to the ſcience of war. They were all very neatly dreſſed, and armed after the Macedonian manner. Theſe came and encamped before the city, where, drawing up in battle-array, they were reviewed; and performed their exerciſes before the king, who was extremely well pleaſed, and very bountiful to them afterwards, at which the Macedonians took great umbrage. And indeed Alexander obſerving theſe were haraſſed and tired out with the length of the war, and often vented murmurs and complaints in the aſſemblies; he for that reaſon was deſirous of training up theſe new forces, purpoſely to check the licentiouſneſs of the veterans. It is dangerous to diſguſt a whole nation, and to favour foreigners too openly.

[b] In the mean time Harpalus, whom Alexander, during his expedition into India, had appointed governor of Babylon, quitted his ſervice. Flattering himſelf with the hopes that this prince would never return from his wars in that country, he had given a looſe to all kinds of licentiouſneſs, and conſumed in his infamous revels part of the wealth with which he had been entruſted. As ſoon as he was informed that Alexander in his return from India, puniſhed very ſeverely ſuch of his lieutenants as had abuſed their power, he meditated how he might beſt ſecure himſelf; and for this purpoſe amaſſed five thouſand talents, that is, about ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; aſſembled ſix thouſand ſoldiers, withdrew into Attica, and landed at Athens. [c] Immediately all ſuch orators as made a trade of eloquence, ran to him in crowds, all ready to be corrupted by bribes, as they were before by hopes of them. Harpalus did not fail to diſtribute a ſmall part of his wealth among theſe orators, to win them over to his intereſt, but he offered Phocion ſeven hundred * talents, and even put his perſon under his protection, well knowing the prodigious authority he had over the people.

The fame of his probity, and particularly of his diſintereſtedneſs, had gained him this credit. Philip's deputies had offered him great ſums of money in that prince's name, and

[b] Plut. in Demoſth. p. 857, 858. [c] Plut. in Phoc. p. 751.

* Seven hundred thouſand crowns.

intreating him to accept them, if not for himſelf, at leaſt for his children, who were ſo poor, that it would be impoſſible for them to ſupport the glory of his name: * "If they reſemble me," replied Phocion, the little ſpot of ground, with the produce of which I have hitherto lived, and which has raiſed me to the glory you mention, will be ſufficient to maintain them; if it will not, I do not intend to leave them wealth, merely to foment and heighten their luxury." [d] Alexander having likewiſe ſent him an hundred † talents, Phocion aſked thoſe who brought them, upon what deſign Alexander ſent him ſo great a ſum, and did not remit any to the reſt of the Athenians? "It is," replied they, "becauſe Alexander looks upon you as the only juſt and virtuous man." Says Phocion, "Let him ſuffer me ſtill to enjoy that character, and be really what I am taken for."

The reader will ſuppoſe, that he did not give a more favourable reception to the perſons ſent by Harpalus. And indeed he ſpoke to them in very harſh terms, declaring, that he ſhould immediately take ſuch meaſures as would be very diſagreeable to the perſon on whoſe errand they came, in caſe he did not leave off bribing the city; ſo that Harpalus loſt all hopes from that quarter.

Demoſthenes did not at firſt ſhow more favour to Harpalus. He adviſed the Athenians to drive him out from their city, and not to involve it in a war, upon a very unjuſt occaſion, and at the ſame time without the leaſt neceſſity.

Some days after, Harpalus, as an inventory was taking of his goods, having obſerved that Demoſthenes took a particular pleaſure in viewing one of the king's cups of ſolid gold, and that he admired the faſhion, and the beauty of the workmanſhip, deſired him to take it in his hand, and tell him *the weight of it.* Demoſthenes taking the cup, was ſurpriſed at its heavineſs, and accordingly aſked how much it weighed? Harpalus anſwered with a ſmile, *Twenty* ‡ *talents, I believe;* and that very evening ſent him that ſum with the cup: for ſo great was Harpalus's penetration, that he could diſcover

[d] Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* *Si mei ſimiles erunt, idem hic, inquit, agellus illos alet, qui me ad hanc dignitatem perduxit: ſin diſſimiles ſunt futuri, nolo meis impenſis illorum ali augerique luxuriam.* Cor. Nep. in Phoc. c. i.

† An hundred thouſand crowns. ‡ Twenty thouſand crowns.

by the air, and certain glances, the foible of a man ſtruck with the charms of gold. Demoſthenes could not reſiſt its power; but, overcome by this preſent, and being * no longer maſter of himſelf, he joined on a ſudden with Harpalus's party; and the very next morning, wrapping his neck well in woollen cloths, he went to the aſſembly. The people then ordered him to riſe and make a ſpeech, but he refuſed, making ſigns that he had loſt his voice; upon which ſome wags cried aloud, that their orator had been ſeiſed in the night, not with a † *ſquinancy*, but an *argyrancy;* thereby intimating, that Harpalus's money had ſuppreſſed his voice.

The people being told next day of the gift which had been ſent to Demoſthenes were highly exaſperated, and refuſed to hear his juſtification. Harpalus was thereupon expelled the city; and in order to diſcover the perſons who had taken bribes, the magiſtrates commanded a ſtrict ſearch to be made in all houſes, that of Carricles excepted, who having married but a little before, was exempt from this inquiry, out of reſpect to his bride. The politeneſs ſhown on this occaſion does honour to Athens, and is not always exerciſed elſewhere.

Demoſthenes, to prove his innocence, propoſed a decree, by which the ſenate of the Areopagus was impowered to take cognizance of this matter. He was the firſt they tried, and fined, upon being convicted, fifty ‡ talents, for the payment of which he was thrown into priſon; however he found means to eſcape, and left his country. Demoſthenes did not behave with reſolution and magnanimity in his baniſhment, reſiding generally at Ægina or Trezena; and every time he caſt his eyes on Attica, his face would be covered with tears; and he ſuffered ſuch words to drop from him, as were unworthy a brave man; words which by no means correſpond with his reſolute and generous behaviour during his adminiſtration. Cicero was reproached with the ſame weakneſs in his exile,

* The expreſſion in the Greek is full of beauty and ſpirit. Plutarch compares the gold which had been accepted by Demoſthenes, to a garriſon (of the enemy) which a governor had received into his city, and thereby diſpoſſeſſed himſelf of the command of it. Πληγεις υπο της δωροδοκιας, ωσπερ παραδεδιγμενην φρουραν.

† It is impoſſible to tranſlate the agreeable play of theſe Greek words. Ουχ υπο συναγχης εφραζον, αλλ' απ' αργυραγχες ειληφθαι νυκτως τον δημαγωγον.

‡ Fifty thouſand crowns.

which ſhows that great men are not ſuch at all times, and on all occaſions.

[c] It were to be wiſhed, for the honour of eloquence, that what Pauſanias relates in juſtification of Demoſthenes, were true; and it is very probable it was ſo. According to this author, Harpalus, after flying from Athens, was ſeiſed by Philoxenus the Macedonian; and being racked, to extort from him the names of ſuch Athenians as had been bribed by him, he did not once mention Demoſthenes, whoſe name, had he been guilty, he would not have ſuppreſſed before Philoxenus, as that orator was his enemy.

Upon the firſt report of Harpalus's flying to Athens, Alexander, fully determined to go in perſon to puniſh Harpalus and the Athenians, had commanded a fleet to be equipped. But after news was brought that the people in their aſſembly had ordered him to depart their city, he laid aſide all thoughts of returning into Europe.

Alexander, having ſtill a curioſity to ſee the ocean, came down from Suſa, upon the river Eulæus; and after having coaſted the Perſian gulph to the mouth of the Tygris, he went up that river towards the army, which was encamped on the banks of it, near the city of Opis, under the command of Hephæſtion.

Upon his arrival there, he publiſhed a declaration in the camp, by which all the Macedonians, who, by reaſon of their age, wounds, or any other infirmity, were unable to ſupport any longer the fatigues of the ſervice, were permitted to return into Greece; declaring, that his deſign was to diſcharge them, to be bountiful to them, and ſend them back to their native country in a ſafe and honourable manner. His intention was, in making this declaration, to oblige, and at the ſame time give them the ſtrongeſt proof how greatly they were in his eſteem. However, the very contrary happened, for being already diſguſted upon ſome other accounts, eſpecially by the viſible preference which Alexander gave to foreigners, they imagined, that his reſolution was to make Aſia the ſeat of his empire, and to diſengage himſelf from the Macedonians; and that the only motive of his doing this, was, that they might make room for the new troops he had

[c] Pauſan. l. ii. p. 148.

levied in the conquered countries. This alone was ſufficient to exaſperate them to fury. Upon which, without obſerving the leaſt order or diſcipline, or regarding the remonſtrances of their officers, they went to the king with an air of inſolence which they had never aſſumed till then, and with ſeditious cries unanimouſly demanded to be diſcharged; ſaying further, that ſince he deſpiſed the ſoldiers who had gained him all his victories, he and his father Ammon might carry on the war againſt whomſoever, and in what manner they pleaſed: but as for themſelves, they were fully determined not to ſerve him any longer.

The king, no way ſurpriſed, and without once heſitating, jumps from his tribunal; cauſes the principal mutineers, whom he himſelf pointed out to his guards, to be immediately ſeiſed, and orders thirteen to be puniſhed. This bold and vigorous action, which thunder-ſtruck the Macedonians, ſuppreſſed their courage in an inſtant: quite amazed and confounded, and ſcarce daring to look at one another, they ſtood with downcaſt eyes, and were ſo diſpirited, and trembled ſo prodigiouſly, that they were unable either to ſpeak or even to think. Seeing them in this condition, he re-aſcended his tribunal, where, after repeating to them, with a ſevere countenance, and a menacing tone of voice, the numerous favours which Philip his father had beſtowed upon them, and all the marks of kindneſs and friendſhip by which he himſelf had diſtinguiſhed them, he concluded with theſe words: "You "all deſire a diſcharge; I grant it you. Go now, and pub- "liſh to the whole world, that you have left your prince to "the mercy of the nations he had conquered, who were more "affectionate to him than you." After ſpeaking this, he returned ſuddenly into his tent; caſhiers his old guard; appoints another in its place, all compoſed of Perſian ſoldiers; ſhuts himſelf up for ſome days, and would not ſee any perſon all the time.

Had the Macedonians been ſentenced to die, it could not have ſurpriſed them more than when news was brought them, that the king had confided the guard of his perſon to the Perſians. They could ſuppreſs their grief no longer, ſo that nothing was heard but cries, groans, and lamentations. Soon after, they all run together to the king's tent, threw down their arms, confeſſing their guilt; acknowledging their fault

with tears and ſighs; declare that the loſs of life will not be ſo grievous as the loſs of honour; and proteſt that they will not leave the place till the king has pardoned them. At laſt, Alexander could no longer reſiſt the tender proofs they gave of their ſorrow and repentance; ſo that when he himſelf, at his coming out of his tent, ſaw them in this dejected condition, he could not refrain from tears; and, after ſome gentle reproaches, which were ſoftened by an air of humanity and kindneſs, he declared ſo loud as to be heard by them all, that he reſtored them to his friendſhip. This was reſtoring them to life, as was manifeſt from their ſhouts.

He afterwards diſcharged ſuch Macedonians as were no longer able to carry arms, and ſent them back to their native country with rich preſents. He commanded, that at the exhibiting of the public games, they ſhould be allowed the chief places in the theatre, and there ſit with crowns on their heads; and gave orders, that the children of thoſe who had loſt their lives in his ſervice, ſhould receive, during their minority, the ſame pay which had been given their fathers. Such ſupport and honours granted to veterans, muſt neceſſarily ennoble, in a very conſpicuous manner, the military profeſſion! It is not poſſible for a government to enrich every ſoldier in particular; but it may animate and conſole him by marks of diſtinction, which inſpire a ſtronger ardour for war, more conſtancy in the ſervice, and nobler ſentiments and motives.

Alexander appointed Craterus commander of theſe ſoldiers, to whom he gave the government of Macedonia, Theſſaly, and Thrace, which Antipater had enjoyed; and the latter was commanded to bring the recruits inſtead of Craterus. The king had long ſince been quite tired with the complaints of his mother and Antipater, who could not agree. She charged Antipater of aſpiring at ſovereign power, and the latter complained of her violent and untractable diſpoſition; and had often declared in his letters, that ſhe did not behave in a manner ſuitable to her dignity. It was with ſome reluctance Antipater reſigned his government.

A. M. 3680. Ant. J. C. 324. From Opis, Alexander arrived at Ecbatana in Media, where, after having diſpatched the moſt urgent affairs of the kingdom, he again ſolemnized games and feſtivals: there had come to him from Greece, three thouſand dancers,

makers of machinery, and other perſons ſkilled in diverſions of this kind. It happened very unluckily, during the celebration of theſe feſtivals, that Hephæſtion died of a diſeaſe which he brought upon himſelf. Alexander abandoning himſelf to immoderate drinking, his whole court followed his example, and ſometimes ſpent whole days and nights in theſe exceſſes. In one of them Hephæſtion loſt his life. He was the moſt intimate friend the king had, the confident of all his ſecrets, and, to ſay all in a word, a ſecond ſelf. Craterus only ſeemed to diſpute this honour with him. A few words, which one day eſcaped that prince, ſhows the difference he made between theſe two courtiers. "Craterus," ſays he, "loves the king, but Hephæſtion loves Alexander." This expreſſion ſignifies, if I miſtake not, that Hephæſtion had devoted himſelf, in a tender and affectionate manner, to the perſon of Alexander; but that Craterus loved him as a king, that is, was concerned for his reputation, and ſometimes was leſs obſequious to his will, than he was zealous for his glory and intereſt. An excellent character, but very uncommon.

Hephæſtion was as much beloved by all the courtiers, as by Alexander himſelf. Modeſt, even-tempered, beneficent; free from pride, avarice, and jealouſy; he never abuſed his credit, nor preferred himſelf to thoſe officers, whoſe merit made them neceſſary to his ſovereign. He was univerſally regretted: but his death threw Alexander into exceſſive ſorrow, to which he abandoned himſelf in ſuch a manner, as was unworthy ſo great a king. He ſeemed to receive no conſolation, but in the extraordinary funeral honours he paid to his friend at his arrival in Babylon, whither he commanded Perdiccas to carry his corpſe.

In order to remove, by buſineſs and employment, the melancholy ideas which the death of his favourite perpetually awakened in his mind, Alexander marched his army againſt the *Coſſæi*, a warlike nation inhabiting the mountains of Media, whom not one of the Perſian monarchs had ever been able to conquer. However, the king reduced them in forty days, afterwards paſſed the Tigris, and marched towards Babylon.

SECT. XVIII. *Alexander enters Babylon, contrary to the ſiniſter predictions of the Magi and other ſoothſayers. He there forms the plans of ſeveral voyages and conqueſts. He ſets about repairing the breaches made in the piers of the Tigris and Euphrates, and rebuilding the temple of Belus. He abandons himſelf to immoderate drinking, which brings him to his end. The univerſal grief ſpread over the whole empire upon that account. Syſigambis is not able to ſurvive him. Preparations are made to convey Alexander's corpſe to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon in Libya.*

[f] ALEXANDER being arrived within a league and a half of Babylon, the Chaldeans who pretended to know futurity by the ſtars, deputed to him ſome of their old men, to acquaint him, that he would be in danger of his life, in caſe he entered that city, and were very urgent with him to go no farther. The Babyloniſh aſtrologers were held in ſuch great reputation, that this advice made a prodigious impreſſion on his mind, and filled him with confuſion and dread. Upon this, after ſending ſeveral of the grandees of his court to Babylon, he himſelf went another way; and having marched about ten leagues, he ſtopped for ſome time in the place where he had encamped his army. The Greek philoſophers, being told the foundation of his fear and ſcruples, waited upon him; when ſetting, in the ſtrongeſt light, the principles of Anaxagoras, whoſe tenets they followed, they demonſtrated to him, in the ſtrongeſt manner, the vanity of aſtrology; and made him have ſo great a contempt for divination in general, and for that of the Chaldeans in particular, that he immediately marched towards Babylon with his whole army. [g] He knew that there were arrived in that city, ambaſſadors from all parts of the world, who waited for his coming; the whole earth echoing ſo much with the terror of his name, that the ſeveral nations came, with inexpreſſible ardour, to pay homage to Alexander, as to him who was to be their ſovereign. This view, which agreeably ſoothed the ſtrongeſt of all his paſſions, contributed very

[f] Arrian. lib. vii. p. 294—309. Q. Curt. lib. x. c. 4—7. Plut. in Alex. p. 705—707. [g] Diod. lib. xvii. p. 577—583. Juſtin. lib. xii. c. 13—16.

much to ſtifle every other reflection, and to make him careleſs of all advice that might be given him; ſo that he ſet forward with all poſſible diligence towards that great city, there to hold the ſtates-general, in a manner, of the world. After making a moſt magnificent entry, he gave audience to all the ambaſſadors, with the grandeur and dignity ſuitable to a great monarch, and, at the ſame time, with the affability and politeneſs of a prince, who is deſirous of winning the affection of all. He loaded thoſe of Epidaurus with great preſents for the deity who preſides over their city, as well as over health, but reproached him at the ſame time. "Æſculapius," ſays he, "has ſhowed me but very little indulgence, in not preſerving the life of a friend, who was as dear to me as myſelf." In private, he diſcovered a great friendſhip for ſuch of the deputies of Greece, as came to congratulate him on his victories, and his happy return; and he reſtored them all the ſtatues, and other curioſities, which Xerxes had carried out of Greece, that were found in Suſa, Babylon, Paſſagardæ, and other places. We are told, that among theſe were the ſtatues of Harmodius and Ariſtogiton, and that they were brought back to Athens.

The ambaſſadors from Corinth having offered him, in the name of their city, the freedom of it, he laughed at an offer which ſeemed altogether unworthy of one who had attained ſo exalted a pitch of grandeur and power. However, when Alexander was told that Corinth had granted this privilege to Hercules only, he accepted it with joy; and piqued himſelf upon treading in his ſteps, and reſembling him in all things. But, cries * Seneca, in what did this frantic young man, with whom ſucceſsful temerity paſſed for virtue, reſemble Hercules? The latter, free from all ſelf-intereſted views, travelled through the world, merely to ſerve the ſeveral nations he viſited, and to purge the earth of ſuch robbers as infeſted it: whereas Alexander, who is juſtly entitled the plunderer of nations, made his

* *Quid illi ſimile habebat veſanus adoleſcens, cui pro virtute erat felix temeritas? Hercules nihil ſibi vicit. Orbem terrarum tranſivit, non concupiſcendo, ſed vindicando——malorum hoſtis, bonorum vindex, terrarum mariſque pacator. At hic à pueritia latro gentiumque vaſtator——ſummum bonum duxit, terrori eſſe cunctis mortalibus.* SENEC. de Benef. lib. i. cap. 13

glory to conſiſt in carrying deſolation into all places, and in rendering himſelf the terror of mankind.

At the ſame time he wrote a letter, which was to have been read publicly in the aſſembly of the Olympic games, whereby the ſeveral cities of Greece were commanded to permit all exiles to return into their native country, thoſe excepted who had committed ſacrilege, or any other crime deſerving death; and ordered Antipater to employ an armed force againſt ſuch cities as ſhould refuſe to obey. This letter was read in the aſſembly. But as for the Athenians and Etolians, they did not think themſelves obliged to put orders in execution, which ſeemed to interfere with their liberty.

Alexander, after having diſpatched theſe affairs, finding himſelf now at leiſure, began to think of Hephæſtion's burial. This he ſolemnized with a magnificence, the like of which had never been ſeen. As he himſelf undertook the management of this funeral, he commanded all the neighbouring cities to contribute their utmoſt in exalting the pomp of it. He likewiſe ordered all the nations of Aſia to extinguiſh what the Perſians call the *ſacred fire*, till the ceremony of the interment ſhould be ended; which was conſidered as an ill omen, it being never practiſed in Perſia, except at the death of its monarchs. All the officers and courtiers, to pleaſe Alexander, cauſed images to be carved of that favourite, of gold, ivory, and other precious materials.

At the ſame time the king, having procured a great number of architects, and ſkilful workmen, firſt cauſed near ſix furlongs of the wall of Babylon to be beat down; and, having got together a great number of bricks, and levelled the ſpot deſigned for the funeral pile, he had a moſt magnificent monumental ſtructure erected over it.

This edifice was divided into thirty parts, in each whereof was raiſed an uniform building, the roof of which was covered with great planks of palm-tree wood. The whole formed a perfect ſquare, the circumference of which was adorned with extraordinary magnificence. Each ſide was a furlong, or an hundred fathoms, in length. At the foot of it, and in the firſt row, were ſet two hundred and forty-four prows of ſhips gilded, on the * buttreſſes, or ſupporters

* In *Greek* Επωτιδες or *ears*. Theſe are two pieces of timber, which project to the right and left of the prow.

whereof, the ſtatues of two archers, four cubits high, with one knee on the ground, were fixed; and two other ſtatues, in an upright poſture, completely armed, bigger than the life, being five cubits in height. The ſpaces between the prows were ſpread and adorned with purple cloth. Over theſe prows was a colonnade of large flambeaux, the ſhafts of which were fifteen cubits high, embelliſhed with crowns of gold at the part where they are held. The flame of thoſe flambeaux ending at top, terminated towards eagles, which, with their heads turned downward, and extended wings, ſerved as capitals. Dragons fixed near, or upon the baſe, turned their heads upwards towards the eagles. Over this colonnade ſtood a third, in the baſe of which was repreſented, in relievo, a party of hunting animals of every kind. On the ſuperior order, that is the fourth, the combat of the Centaurs was repreſented in gold. Finally, on the fifth, golden figures, repreſenting lions and bulls, were placed alternately. The whole edifice terminated with military trophies, after the Macedonian and Barbarian faſhion, as ſo many ſymbols of the victory of the former, and defeat of the latter. On the entablatures and roof were repreſented Syrens, the hollow bodies of which were filled (but in an imperceptible manner) with muſicians, who ſang mournful airs and dirges in honour of the deceaſed. This edifice was upwards of one hundred and thirty cubits high, that is, above an hundred and ninety-five feet.

The beauty of the deſign of this ſtructure, the ſingularity and magnificence of the decorations, and the ſeveral ornaments of it, ſurpaſſed the moſt wonderful productions of fancy, and were all in an exquiſite taſte. Alexander had appointed to ſuperintend the building of this edifice, Staſicrates, a great architect, and admirably well ſkilled in mechanics, in all whoſe inventions and deſigns there appeared, not only prodigious magnificence and ſurpriſing boldneſs, but ſuch a greatneſs as was ſcarce conceivable.

[h] It was this artiſt, who, diſcourſing ſome time before with Alexander, had told him, that of all the mountains he knew, none would ſo well admit of being cut into the ſhape of a man, as mount Athos in Thrace: That, if he

[h] Plut. de fortun. Alex. ſerm. i. p. 335.

therefore pleaſed but to give orders, he would make this mountain the moſt durable of all ſtatues, and that which would lie moſt open to the view of the univerſe. In its left hand it ſhould hold a city, conſiſting of ten thouſand inhabitants; and from its right ſhould pour a great river, whoſe waters would diſcharge themſelves into the ſea. One would have thought that this project would have pleaſed Alexander, who ſought for the great and marvellous in all things; nevertheleſs, he rejected it, and wiſely anſwered, that it was enough there was one prince, whoſe folly mount Athos would eterniſe. This was meant of Xerxes, who having endeavoured to cut through the Iſthmus of that mountain, wrote a * letter to it in the moſt proud and ſenſeleſs terms. "With regard to myſelf," ſays Alexander, "mount Caucaſus, the river † Tanais, the Caſpian ſea, all which, I paſſed in triumph, ſhall be my monument."

The expence of the ſplendid monument which this prince erected in honour of Hephæſtion, with that of the funeral, amounted to upwards of twelve thouſand talents, that is, more than one million eight hundred thouſand pounds. But what man was ever ſo ridiculouſly and extravagantly profuſe! All this gold, all this ſilver, was no other than the blood of nations, and the ſubſtance of provinces, which were thus ſacrificed to a vain oſtentation.

To crown the affection which Alexander had for his deceaſed friend, ſomething was ſtill wanting to the honours he paid him, to raiſe them above human nature; and this was what he propoſed, and for that purpoſe had ſent to the temple of Ammon a truſty perſon, named Philip, to inquire the will of the god. It doubtleſs was the echo of that of Alexander; and the anſwer was, that ſacrifices might be offered to Hephæſtion, as a demi-god. Theſe were not ſpared in any manner; Alexander himſelf firſt ſetting the example, when he made a great feaſt, to which upwards of ten thouſand perſons were invited. At the ſame time he wrote to Cleomenes, governor of Egypt, commanding him to build a temple to Hephæſtion in Alexandria, and another in the iſle of Pharos.

* Proud Athos, who lifteſt thy head to heaven, be not ſo bold as to oppoſe to my workmen ſuch rocks and ſtones as they cannot cut; otherwiſe I will cut thee quite to pieces, and throw thee into the ſea. Plutarch, de inhib. p. 555.

† The Iaxarthes is here meant.

In this letter (which is ſtill extant) to excite his diligence, and haſten the work, he grants the governor, who was deſpiſed univerſally for his injuſtice and rapine, a general pardon for all his crimes, paſt, preſent, and future; provided that, at his return, the temple and city ſhould be completed. And now nothing was ſeen but new altars, temples, and feſtivals; no oaths were adminiſtered but in the name of the new deity: to queſtion his divinity was a capital crime. An old officer (a friend of Hephæſtion) having bewailed him as dead, in paſſing before his tomb, had like to have been put to death for it; nor would he have been pardoned, had not Alexander been aſſured, that the officer wept, merely from ſome remains of tenderneſs, and not as doubting Hephæſtion's divinity. I cannot ſay, whether Alexander prevailed ſo far, as to make any one give credit to Hephæſtion's divinity; but he himſelf appeared, or at leaſt endeavoured to appear, firmly perſuaded of it; and gloried, not only that he had a god for his father, but that he himſelf could make gods. How ridiculous is all this!

During almoſt a year which Alexander continued in Babylon, he revolved a great number of projects in his mind; ſuch as to go round Africa by ſea; to make a complete diſcovery of all the nations lying round the Caſpian ſea, and inhabiting its coaſts; to conquer Arabia; to make war with Carthage, and to ſubdue the reſt of Europe. The very thoughts of ſitting ſtill fatigued him, and the great vivacity of his imagination and ambition would never ſuffer him to be at reſt; nay, could he have conquered the whole world, he would have ſought a new one, to ſatiate the avidity of his deſires.

The embelliſhing of Babylon alſo employed his thoughts very much. Finding it ſurpaſſed in extent, in conveniency, and in whatever can be wiſhed, either for the neceſſities or pleaſures of life, all the other cities of the Eaſt, he reſolved to make it the ſeat of his empire; and for that purpoſe, was deſirous of adding to it all the conveniences and ornaments poſſible.

This city, as well as the country round about it, had ſuffered prodigiouſly by the breaking of the bank or dike of the Euphrates, at the head of the canal called Pallacopa. The

river running out of its uſual channel by this breach, overflowed the whole country; and forcing its way perpetually, the breach grew at laſt ſo wide, that it would have coſt almoſt as much to repair the bank, as the raiſing of it had done at firſt. So little water was left in the channel of the Euphrates about Babylon, that there was ſcarce depth enough for ſmall boats, which conſequently was of great prejudice to the city.

Alexander undertook to remedy this, for which purpoſe he embarked upon the Euphrates, in order to take a view of the place. It was on this occaſion that he reproached, in a ludicrous, inſulting tone of voice, the Magi and Chaldeans who accompanied him, for the vanity of their predictions; ſince, notwithſtanding the ill omens they had endeavoured to terrify him with (as if he had been a credulous woman) he however had entered Babylon, and was returned from it very ſafe. Attentive to nothing but the ſubject of his voyage, he went and reviewed the breach, and gave the proper orders for repairing and reſtoring it to its former condition,

This deſign of Alexander merited the greateſt applauſe. Such works are truely worthy great princes, and give immortal honour to their name, as not being the effect of a ridiculous vanity, but entirely calculated for the public good. By the execution of this project, he would have recovered a whole province which lay under water; and have made the river more navigable, and conſequently of greater ſervice to the Babylonians, by turning it all again into its channel as before.

This work, after having been carried on the length of thirty furlongs (a league and a half) was ſtopped by difficulties owing to the nature of the ſoil; and the death of this prince, which happened ſoon after, put an end to this project, and ſeveral others he had formed. A ſupreme cauſe, unknown to men, prevented its execution. The real obſtacle to the ſucceſs of it, was the curſe which GOD had pronounced againſt this city; an anathema which no human power could divert or retard. [i] "I will cut off from Babylon the name and remnant," had the Lord of hoſts ſworn above three hundred years before: "I will alſo make it a poſſeſſion for the bittern, and pools of water: and I will ſweep it with the beſom of deſtruction—[k] It ſhall never be inhabited, neither ſhall it be

[i] Iſa. c. 14. ver. 22, 23. [k] Chap. 13. ver. 20.

dwelt in from generation to generation—neither ſhall the ſhepherds make their fold there." Heaven and earth would ſooner have paſſed away, than Alexander's deſign been put in execution. No river was now to flow by Babylon; the places round it were to be overflowed and changed into uninhabitable fens; it was to be rendered inacceſſible, by the prodigious quantities of mud and dirt; and the city, as well as the country about it, were to be covered with ſtagnated waters, which would make all acceſs to it impracticable. * Thus it now lies; and all things were to conſpire to reduce it to this dejected ſtate, in order that the prophecy might be completely fulfilled; [l] "For the LORD of hoſts hath purpoſed, and who ſhall diſannul it? And his hand is ſtretched out, and who ſhall turn it back?" Nothing ſhows more evidently the ſtrength and weight of this invincible curſe, than the efforts of the moſt powerful prince that ever reigned; a prince, the moſt obſtinate that ever was, with regard to the carrying on his projects; a prince, of whoſe enterpriſes none had ever miſcarried; and who failed in this only, though it did not ſeem ſo difficult as the reſt.

Another deſign which Alexander meditated, and had moſt at heart, was the repairing the temple of Belus. Xerxes had demoliſhed it in his return from Greece, and it had lain in ruins ever ſince. Now Alexander was reſolved, not only to rebuild it, but even to raiſe a much more magnificent temple. Accordingly, he had cauſed all the rubbiſh to be removed; and finding that the Magi, to whoſe care he had left this, went on but ſlowly, he made his ſoldiers work. Notwithſtanding ten thouſand of them were daily employed at it, for two months ſucceſſively, the work was not finiſhed at the death of this prince, ſo prodigious were its ruins. [m] When it came to the turn of the Jewiſh ſoldiers, who were in his army, to work as the reſt had done, they could not be prevailed upon to give their aſſiſtance; but excuſed themſelves with ſaying, that as idolatry was forbid by the tenets of their religion, they therefore were not allowed to aſſiſt in building of a temple, deſigned for idolatrous worſhip; and accordingly not one lent a hand

[l] Iſa. ch. 14. ver. 27. [m] Joſephus contra Appion. lib. i. cap. 8.

* See what is ſaid on this ſubject in the hiſtory of Cyrus.

on this occaſion. They were puniſhed for diſobedience, but all to no purpoſe; ſo that, at laſt, Alexander admiring their perſeverance, diſcharged, and ſent them home. This delicate reſolution of the Jews is a leſſon to many Chriſtians, as it teaches them, that they are not allowed to join or aſſiſt in the commiſſion of an action that is contrary to the law of GOD.

One cannot forbear admiring the conduct of Providence on this occaſion. GOD had broke to pieces, by the hand of his ſervant Cyrus, the idol * Belus, the god who rivalled the LORD of Iſrael: he afterwards cauſed Xerxes to demoliſh his temple. Theſe firſt blows which the LORD ſtruck at Babylon, were ſo many omens of its total ruin; and it was as impoſſible for Alexander to complete the re-building of this temple, as for Julian, ſome centuries after, to reſtore that of Jeruſalem.

Although Alexander employed himſelf in the works above mentioned, during his ſtay in Babylon, he ſpent the greateſt part of his time in ſuch pleaſures as that city afforded; and one would conclude, that the chief aim, both of his occupations and diverſions, was to ſtupify himſelf, and to drive from his mind the melancholy and afflicting ideas of an impending death, with which he was threatened by all the predictions of the Magi and other ſoothſayers: for though, in certain moments, he ſeemed not to regard the various notices which had been given him, he was however ſeriouſly affected with them inwardly; and theſe gloomy reflections were for ever returning to his mind. They terrified him at laſt to ſuch a degree, that whenever the moſt inſignificant thing happened (if ever ſo little extraordinary and unuſual) his imagination ſwelled it immediately to a prodigy, and interpreted it into an unhappy omen. The palace was now filled with ſacrifices, with perſons whoſe office was to perform expiations and purifications, and with others who pretended to prophecy. It was certainly a ſpectacle worthy a philoſophic eye, to ſee a prince, at whoſe nod the world trembled, abandoned to the ſtrongeſt terrors; ſo true is it, ſays Plutarch, that if the contempt of the gods, and the incredulity which prompts us neither to fear nor believe any

* GOD gives him this name in Iſaiah.

thing, be a great misfortune, the ſuperſtitious man, whoſe ſoul is a prey to the moſt abject fears, the moſt ridiculous follies, is equally unhappy. It is plain that GOD, by a juſt judgment, took a pleaſure in degrading, before all ages and nations, and in ſinking lower than the condition of the vulgar, the man who had affected to ſet himſelf above human nature, and equal himſelf to the Deity. This prince had ſought, in all his actions, that vain glory of conqueſts which men moſt admire; and to which they affix, more than to any thing elſe, the idea of grandeur: and GOD delivers him up to a ridiculous ſuperſtition, which virtuous men of good ſenſe and underſtanding deſpiſe moſt, and than which nothing can be more weak or groveling.

Alexander was therefore for ever ſolemnizing new feſtivals, and perpetually at new banquets, in which he quaffed with his uſual intemperance. After having ſpent a whole night in carouſing, a ſecond was propoſed to him. He met accordingly, and there were twenty gueſts at table. He drank to the health of every perſon in company, and then pledged them ſeverally. After this, calling for Hercules's cup, which held ſix bottles, it was filled, when he poured it all down, drinking to a Macedonian of the company, Proteas by name, and afterwards pledged him again, in the ſame furious bumper. He had no ſooner ſwallowed it, but he fell upon the floor. "Here then," cries * Seneca, (deſcribing the fatal effects of drunkenneſs) "is this hero; "invincible to all the toils of prodigious marches, to the "dangers of ſieges and combats, to the moſt violent ex- "tremes of heat and cold; here he lies, conquered by his "intemperance, and ſtruck to the earth by the fatal cup of "Hercules."

In this condition he was ſeiſed with a violent fever, and carried half dead to his palace. The fever continued, though with ſome good intervals, in which he gave the neceſſary orders for the ſailing of the fleet, and the marching of his land-forces, being perſuaded he ſhould ſoon recover. But at laſt, finding himſelf paſt all hopes, and his voice begin-

* *Alexandrum tot itinera, tot prælia, tot hiemes, per quas, victa temporum locorumque difficultate, tranſierat, tot flumina ex ignoto cadentia, tot maria tutum dimiſerunt; intemperantia bibendi, & ille Herculaneus ac fatalis ſcyphus condidit.* SENEC. Epiſt. 83.

ning to fail, he drew his ring from his finger, and gave it to Perdiccas, with orders to convey his corpſe to the temple of Ammon.

Notwithſtanding * his great weakneſs, he however ſtruggled with death, and raiſing himſelf upon his elbow, preſented his ſoldiers (to whom he could not refuſe this laſt teſtimony of friendſhip) his dying hand to kiſs. After this, his principal courtiers aſking to whom he left the empire; he anſwered, "To the moſt worthy;" adding, that he foreſaw the deciſion of this would give occaſion to ſtrange funeral games after his deceaſe. And Perdiccas, inquiring further at what time they ſhould pay him divine honours; he replied, "When you are happy." Theſe were his laſt words, and ſoon after he expired. He was thirty-two years and eight months old, of which he had reigned twelve. He died in the middle of the ſpring, the firſt year of the CXIVth Olympiad.

A. M. 3613. Ant. J. C. 328.

No one, ſays Plutarch and Arrian, ſuſpected then that Alexander had been poiſoned; and yet it is at this time that ſuch reports generally prevail. But the ſtate of his body proved that he did not die that way; for all his chief officers diſagreeing among themſelves, the corpſe, though it lay quite neglected for ſeveral days in Babylon, which ſtands in a hot climate, did not ſhow the leaſt ſymptoms of putrefaction. The true poiſon which brought him to his end was wine, which has killed many thouſands beſides Alexander. It was nevertheleſs believed afterwards, that this prince had been poiſoned by the treachery of Antipater's ſons: that Caſſander, the eldeſt of them, brought the † poiſon from Greece; that Iolas, his younger brother, threw the fatal draught into Alexander's cup, of which he was the bearer; and that he cunningly choſe the time of the great feaſt mentioned before, in order that the prodigious quantity of wine he then drank,

* *Quanquam violentia morbi dilabebatur, in cubitum tamen erectus, dextram omnibus, qui eam contingere vellent, porrexit. Quis autem illam oſculari non curreret, quæ jam fato oppreſſa, maximi exercitus complexui, humanitate quam ſpiritu vividiore, ſufficit?* VAL. MAX. l. v. c. 1.

† It is pretended that this poiſon was an extremely cold water, which diſtills drop by drop, from a rock in Arcadia, called Nonacris. Very little of it falls; and it is ſo vaſtly ſharp, that it corrodes whatever veſſel receives it, thoſe excepted which are made of a mule's hoof. We are told, that it was brought for this horrid purpoſe from Greece to Babylon, in a veſſel of the latter ſort.

might conceal the true cauſe of his death. The ſtate of Antipater's affairs, at that time, gave ſome grounds for this ſuſpicion. He was perſuaded that he had been recalled with no other view than to ruin him, becauſe of his mal-adminiſtration during his vice-royalty; and it was not altogether improbable, that he commanded his ſons to commit a crime, which would ſave his own life, by taking away that of his ſovereign. An undoubted circumſtance is, that he could never waſh out this ſtain; and that as long as he lived, the Macedonians deteſted him as a traitor who had poiſoned their king. Ariſtotle was alſo ſuſpected, but with no great foundation.

Whether Alexander loſt his life by poiſon, or by exceſſive drinking, it is ſurpriſing to ſee the prediction of the Magi and ſoothſayers, with regard to his dying in Babylon, ſo exactly fulfilled. It is certain and indiſputable, that GOD has reſerved to himſelf only the knowledge of futurity; and if the ſoothſayers and oracles have ſometimes foretold things which really came to paſs, they could do it no other way than by their impious correſpondence with devils, who by their penetration and natural ſagacity, find out ſeveral methods whereby they dive to a certain degree into futurity, with regard to approaching events; and are enabled to make predictions, which though they appear above the reach of human underſtanding, are yet not above that of malicious ſpirits of darkneſs. The knowledge * thoſe evil ſpirits have of all the circumſtances which precede and prepare an event; the part they frequently bear in it, by inſpiring ſuch of the wicked as are given up to them, with the thoughts and deſire of doing certain actions, and committing certain crimes; an inſpiration to which they are ſure thoſe wicked perſons will conſent: by theſe things, devils are enabled to foreſee and foretell certain particulars. They, indeed, often miſtake in their conjectures, but † GOD alſo ſometimes permits them to ſucceed in them, in order to puniſh the impiety of thoſe,

* *Dæmones perverſis (ſolent) malefacta ſuadere, de quorum moribus certi ſunt quòd ſint eis talia ſuadentibus conſenſuri. Suadent autem miris & inviſibilibus modis.* S. AUGUST. de Divinat. Dæmon. p. 509.

† *Facile eſt & non incongruum, ut omnipotens & juſtus, ad eorum pœnam quibus iſta prædicuntur—occulto apparatu miniſteriorum ſuorum etiam ſpiritibus talibus aliquid divinationis impertiat.* S. AUG. de Div. Quæſt. ad Simplic. l. ii. Quæſt. 3.

who, in contradiction to his commands, inquire their fate of ſuch lying ſpirits.

The moment that Alexander's death was known, the whole palace echoed with cries and groans. The vanquiſhed bewailed him with as many tears as the victors. The grief for his death occaſioning the remembrance of his many good qualities, all his faults were forgotten. The Perſians declared him to have been the moſt juſt, the kindeſt ſovereign that ever reigned over them; the Macedonians the beſt, the moſt valiant prince in the univerſe; and all exclaimed againſt the gods, for having enviouſly bereaved mankind of him, in the flower of his age, and the height of his fortune. The Macedonians imagined they ſaw Alexander, with a firm and intrepid air, ſtill lead them on to battle, beſiege cities, climb walls, and reward ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves. They then reproached themſelves for having refuſed him divine honours; and confeſſed they had been ungrateful and impious, for bereaving him of a name he ſo juſtly merited.

After paying him this homage of veneration and tears, they turned their whole thoughts and reflections on themſelves, and on the ſad condition to which they were reduced by Alexander's death. They conſidered, that they were on the farther ſide (with reſpect to Macedonia) of the Euphrates, without a leader to head them; and ſurrounded with enemies, who abhorred their new yoke. As the king died without nominating his ſucceſſor, a dreadful futurity preſented itſelf to their imagination; and exhibited nothing but diviſions, civil wars, and a fatal neceſſity of ſtill ſhedding their blood, and of opening their former wounds, not to conquer Aſia, but only to give a king to it; and to raiſe to the throne perhaps ſome mean officer or wicked wretch.

This great mourning was not confined merely to Babylon, but ſpread over all the province; and the news of it ſoon reached Darius's mother. One of her daughters was with her, who being ſtill inconſolable for the death of Hephæſtion her huſband, the ſight of the public calamity recalled all her private woes. But Syſigambis bewailed the ſeveral misfortunes of her family; and this new affliction awaked the remembrance of all its former ſufferings. One would have thought that Darius was but juſt dead, and that this unfortunate mother ſolemnized the funeral of two ſons at the ſame

time. She wept the living no leſs than the dead: "who now," would ſhe ſay, "will take care of my daughters; Where ſhall we find another Alexander?" She would fancy ſhe ſaw them again reduced to a ſtate of captivity, and that they had loſt their kingdom a ſecond time; but with this difference, that now Alexander was gone, they had no refuge left. At laſt, ſhe ſunk under her grief. This princeſs, who had borne with patience the death of her father, her huſband, of fourſcore of her brothers, who were murdered in one day by Ochus, and, to ſay all in one word, that of Darius her ſon, and the ruin of her family; though ſhe had, I ſay, ſubmitted patiently to all theſe loſſes, ſhe however had not ſtrength of mind ſufficient to ſupport herſelf after the death of Alexander. She would not take any ſuſtenance, and ſtarved herſelf to death, to avoid her ſurviving this laſt calamity.

After Alexander's death, great contentions aroſe among the Macedonians, about appointing him a ſucceſſor, of which I ſhall give an account in its proper place. After ſeven days ſpent in confuſion and diſputes, it was agreed that Arideus, baſtard brother to Alexander, ſhould be declared king, and that in caſe Roxana, who was eight months gone with child, ſhould be delivered of a ſon, he ſhould ſhare the throne in conjunction with Arideus, and that Perdiccas ſhould have the care of both; for Arideus was a weak man, and wanted a guardian as much as a child.

The Egyptians and Chaldeans having embalmed the king's corpſe after their manner. Arideus was appointed to convey it to the temple of Jupiter-Ammon. [n] Two whole years were employed in preparing for this magnificent funeral, which made Olympias bewail the fate of her ſon, who having had the ambition to rank himſelf among the gods, was ſo long deprived of burial, a privilege allowed to the meaneſt of mortals.

[n] Ælian l. xiii. c. 30.

SECT. XIX. *The judgment we are to form of Alexander.*

THE reader would not be ſatisfied, if, after having given a detail of Alexander's actions, I ſhould not take notice of the judgment we are to form of them; eſpecially as authors have entirely differed in their opinions, with regard to the merits of this prince. Some have applauded him with a kind of extaſy, as the model of a perfect hero, which opinion ſeems to have prevailed: others, on the contrary, have repreſented him in ſuch colours, as at leaſt fully, if not quite eclipſe, the ſplendour of his victories.

This diverſity of ſentiments denotes that of Alexander's qualities; and it muſt be confeſſed, that good and evil, virtues and vices, were never more equally blended, than in * the prince whoſe hiſtory we have written. But this is not all; for Alexander appears very different, according to the times or ſeaſons in which we conſider him, as Livy has very juſtly obſerved. In the inquiry he makes concerning the fate of Alexander's arms, ſuppoſing he had turned them towards Italy, he † diſcovers in him a kind of double Alexander; the one wiſe, temperate, judicious, brave, intrepid, but at the ſame time prudent and circumſpect: the other immerſed in all the wantonneſs of an haughty proſperity; vain, proud, arrogant, fiery; ſoftened by delights, abandoned to intemperance and exceſſes; in a word, reſembling Darius rather than Alexander; and having made the Macedonians degenerate into all the vices of the Perſians, by the new turn of mind, and the new manners he aſſumed after his conqueſts.

I ſhall have an eye to this plan, in the account I am now to give of Alexander's character, and ſhall conſider it under two aſpects, and in a manner, two æras; firſt, from his youth till the battle of Iſſus, and the ſiege of Tyre, which followed ſoon after; and ſecondly, from that victory to his death. The former will exhibit to us great qualities with few de-

* *Luxuria, induſtria; comitate, arrogantia; malis bonisque artibus mixtus.* TACIT.

† *Et loquimur de Alexandro nondum merſo ſecundis rebus, quarum nemo intolerantior fuit. Qui ſi ex habitu novæ fortunæ, novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii, quod ſibi victor induerat, ſpectetur, Dario magis ſimilis quàm Alexandro in Italiam veniſſet, & exercitum Macedoniæ oblitum, degeneranque jam in Perſarum mores adduxiſſet.* LIV. l. ix. n. 18.

fects (according to the idea the heathens had of these); the second will represent to us enormous vices; and, notwithstanding the splendour of so many victories, very little true and solid merit, even with regard to warlike actions, a few battles excepted, in which he sustained his reputation.

FIRST PART.

We are first to acknowledge and admire, in Alexander, a happy disposition, cultivated and improved by an excellent education. He had a great, noble, and generous soul. [a] He delighted in bestowing and doing service, qualities he had acquired in his infant years. A young lad, whose business it was to gather up and throw the balls when he played at tennis, to whom he had given nothing, taught him a good lesson on that subject. As he always threw the ball to the other players, the king, with an angry air, cried to him, "And am I then to have no ball?" "No, Sir," replied the lad, "you do not ask me for it." This witty and ready answer gave great satisfaction to the prince, who fell a laughing, and afterwards was very liberal to him. After this, there was no occasion to excite him to acts of generosity; for he would be quite angry with such as refused them at his hands. Finding Phocion continue inflexible on this head, he told him by letter, "that he would no longer be his friend, in case he refused to accept of his favours."

Alexander, as if he had been sensible of the mighty things to which he was born, endeavoured to shine on all occasions, and appear more conspicuous than any other person. No one was ever fired with so strong a love for glory; and it is well known, that ambition, which is considered by Christians as a great vice, was looked upon by the heathens as a great virtue. It was that which made Alexander support with courage all the toils and fatigues necessary for those who would distinguish themselves in the exercises both of body and mind. He was accustomed very early to a sober, hard, plain way of life, uncorrupted with luxury or delicacy of any kind; a way of life highly advantageous to young soldiers.

[a] Plut. in Alex. p. 687.

I do not know whether any prince in the world had a nobler education than Alexander. He was very converſant in eloquence, poetry, polite learning, the whole circle of arts, and the moſt abſtracted and moſt ſublime ſciences. How happy was he in meeting with ſo great a preceptor! None but an Ariſtotle was fit for an Alexander. I am overjoyed to find the diſciple pay ſo illuſtrious a teſtimony in reſpect to his maſter, by declaring he was more indebted to him, in one ſenſe, than to his father. A man who thinks and ſpeaks in this manner, muſt be fully ſenſible of the great advantages of a good education.

The effects of this were ſoon ſeen. Is it poſſible for us to admire too much the great ſolidity and judgment which this young prince diſcovered in his converſation with the Perſian ambaſſadors? His early wiſdom, whilſt, in his youth, he acted as regent during his father's abſence, and pacified the feuds which had broken out in Macedonia? His courage and bravery at the battle of Chæronea, in which he ſo glorioufly diſtinguiſhed himſelf?

It is a pain to me, to ſee him wanting in reſpect to his father at a banquet, and employing ſevere, inſulting expreſſions on that occaſion. It is true, indeed, that the affront which Philip put upon Olympias, his mother, in divorcing her, tranſported him in a manner out of himſelf; but ſtill no pretence, no injuſtice or violence, can either juſtify or excuſe ſuch uſage to a father and a king.

[p] He afterwards diſcovered more moderation, when, on occaſion of the inſolent and ſeditious diſcourſes held by his ſoldiers in an inſurrection, he ſaid, "That nothing was more royal, than for a man to hear with calmneſs himſelf ill ſpoken of, at the time he is doing good." It has been obſerved, that the great prince of [q] Condé did not think any thing more worthy of admiration in this conqueror, than the noble haughtineſs with which he ſpoke to the rebellious ſoldiers, who refuſed to follow him: "Go," ſays he, "ungrateful, baſe wretches, and proclaim in your country that you have abandoned your king among nations who will obey him better than you." "Alexander (ſays that prince) aban-
"doned by his own troops among Barbarians, who were not

[p] Plut. in Alex. p. 688. [q] St. Evremond.

" yet completely conquered, believes himſelf ſo worthy of " commanding over others, that he did not think men could " refuſe to obey him. Whether he were in Europe or in " Aſia, among Greeks or Perſians, it was the ſame to him. " He fancied, that wherever he found men, he found ſub- " jects." Alexander's patience and moderation, which I took notice of at firſt, are no leſs wonderful.

The firſt years of his reign are perhaps the moſt glorious of his life. That at twenty years of age, he was able to appeaſe the inteſtine feuds which raged in the kingdom; that he either cruſhed or ſubjected foreign enemies, and thoſe of the moſt formidable kind; that he diſarmed Greece, moſt of the nations whereof had united againſt him; and that in leſs than three years, he ſhould have enabled himſelf to execute ſecurely thoſe plans his father had ſo wiſely projected; all this ſuppoſes a preſence of mind, a ſtrength of ſoul, a courage, an intrepidity, and, what is more than all, a conſummate prudence; qualities which form the character of the true hero.

This character he ſupported in a wonderful manner, during the whole courſe of his expedition againſt Darius, till the time mentioned by us. [r] Plutarch very juſtly admires the bare plan of it, as the moſt heroic act that ever was. He formed it the very inſtant he aſcended the throne, looking upon this deſign, in ſome meaſure, as a part of what he inherited from his father. When ſcarce twenty years old, ſurrounded with dangers both within and without his kingdom, finding his treaſury drained and incumbered with debts, to the amount of two hundred * talents, which his father had contracted; having an army which was greatly inferior in number to that of the Perſians: in this condition, Alexander already turns his eyes towards Babylon and Suſa, and propoſes no leſs a conqueſt than that of ſo vaſt an empire.

Was this the effect of the pride and raſhneſs of youth? aſks Plutarch. Certainly not, replies that author. No man ever formed a warlike enterpriſe with ſo great preparations, and ſuch mighty ſuccours, by which I underſtand (continues Plutarch) magnanimity, prudence, temperance, and courage;

[r] Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. I. p. 307.

* About thirty thouſand pounds.

preparations and aids, with which philoſophy ſupplied him, and which he thoroughly ſtudied; ſo that we may affirm, that he was as much indebted for his conqueſt to the leſſons of Ariſtotle his maſter, as to the inſtructions of Philip his father.

We may add, that according to all the maxims of war, Alexander's enterpriſe muſt naturally be ſucceſsful. Such an army as his, though not a very great one, conſiſting of Macedonians and Greeks, that is, of the beſt troops at that time in the world; and trained up to war during a long courſe of years, inured to toils and dangers, formed by a happy experience to all the exerciſes of ſieges and battles, animated by the remembrance of their paſt victories, by the hopes of an immenſe booty, and more ſo, by their hereditary and irreconcileable hatred to the Perſians; ſuch an army, I ſay, headed by Alexander, was almoſt ſure of conquering an army, compoſed, indeed, of infinite numbers of men, but of few ſoldiers.

The ſwiftneſs of the execution was anſwerable to the wiſdom of the project. After having gained the affection of all his generals and officers by an unparalleled liberality; and all his ſoldiers by an air of goodneſs, affability, and even familiarity, which, ſo far from debaſing the majeſty of a prince, adds to the reſpect which is paid him ſuch a zeal and tenderneſs, as is proof againſt all things: after this, I ſay, the next thing to be done, was, to aſtoniſh his enemies by bold enterpriſes, to terrify them by examples of ſeverity; and, laſtly, to win them by acts of humanity and clemency. He ſucceeded wonderfully in theſe. The paſſage of the Granicus, followed by a famous victory; the two celebrated ſieges of Miletus and Halicarnaſſus, ſhowed Aſia a young conqueror, to whom no part of military knowledge was unknown. The razing of the laſt city to the very foundations, ſpread an univerſal terror; but the allowing all thoſe the enjoyment of their liberties and ancient laws, who ſubmitted chearfully, made the world believe, that the conqueror had no other view than to make nations happy, and to procure them an eaſy and laſting peace.

His impatience to bathe himſelf, when covered with ſweat, in the river Cydnus, might be looked upon as a gay, juvenile action, unworthy of his dignity; but we muſt not

judge of it from the manners of the preſent age. The ancients, all whoſe exerciſes were relative to thoſe of war, accuſtomed themſelves early to bathing and ſwimming. It is well known, that, in Rome, the ſons of the nobility, after having heated themſelves in the Campus Martius, with running, wreſtling, and hurling the javelin, uſed to plunge into the Tyber, which runs by that city. By theſe exerciſes they enabled themſelves to paſs rivers and lakes in an enemy's country; for thoſe are never croſſed, but after painful marches, and after having been long expoſed to the ſun-beams, which, with the weight of the ſoldiers' arms, muſt neceſſarily make them ſweat. Hence we may apologiſe for Alexander's bathing himſelf in a river, which had like to have been fatal to him, eſpecially as he might not know that the waters of it were ſo exceſſive cold.

The two battles of Iſſus and Arbela, with the ſiege of Tyre, one of the moſt famous of antiquity, entirely proved that Alexander poſſeſſed all the qualities which form the great ſoldier; as ſkill in making choice of a field of battle; ſuch a preſence of mind in the heat of action, as is neceſſary for the giving out proper orders; a courage and bravery, which the moſt evident dangers only animated; an impetuous activity, tempered and guided by ſuch a prudent reſervedneſs, as will not ſuffer the hero to be carried away by an indiſcreet ardour; laſtly, ſuch a reſolution and conſtancy, as is neither diſconcerted by unforeſeen obſtacles, nor diſcouraged by difficulties, though ſeemingly inſurmountable, and which know no other bounds or iſſue but victory.

Hiſtorians have obſerved a great * difference between Alexander and his father, in their manner of making war. Stratagem, and even knavery, were the prevailing arts of Philip, who always acted ſecretly, and in the dark; but his ſon purſued his ſchemes with more candour, and without diſguiſe. The one endeavoured to deceive his enemies by cunning, the other to ſubdue them by force of arms. The former diſcovered more art, the latter had a greater ſoul. [a] Philip did

[a] Pauſan. l. vii. p. 415.

* *Vincendi ratio utrique diverſa. Hic aperte, ille artibus bella tractabat. Deceptis ille gaudere hoſtibus, hic palum fuſis. Prudentior ille conſilio, hic animo magnificentior———Nulla apud Philippum turpis ratio vincendi.* JUSTIN. lib. ix. cap. 8.

not look upon any methods, which conduce to conqueſt, as ignominious; but Alexander could never prevail with himſelf to employ treachery. He, indeed, endeavoured to draw over the ableſt of all Darius's generals; but then he employed honourable means. When he marched near Memnon's lands, he commanded his ſoldiers, upon the ſevereſt penalties, not to make the leaſt havoc in them. His deſign, by this conduct, was either to gain him over to his ſide, or to make the Perſians ſuſpect his fidelity. [t] Memnon alſo delighted in behaving with generoſity towards Alexander; and hearing a ſoldier ſpeak ill of that prince: "I did not take thee into my pay," ſays that general, ſtriking him with his javelin, "to ſpeak injuriouſly of that prince, but to fight againſt him."

The circumſtance which raiſes Alexander above moſt conquerors, and, as it were, above himſelf, is the uſe he made of victory after the battle of Iſſus. This is the moſt beautiful incident in his life: is the point of ſight in which it is his intereſt to be conſidered, and it is impoſſible for him not to appear truly great in that view. By the victory of Iſſus, he had poſſeſſed himſelf, not only of Darius's perſon, but alſo of his empire. Not only Syſigambis, that king's mother was his captive; but alſo his wife and daughters, princeſſes whoſe beauty was not to be paralleled in all Aſia.—[u] Alexander was in the bloom of life, a conqueror, free, and not yet engaged in the bands of marriage, as an author obſerves of the firſt Scipio Africanus, on a like occaſion: nevertheleſs, his camp was, to thoſe princeſſes, a ſacred aſylum, or rather a temple, in which their chaſtity was ſecured, as under the guard of virtue itſelf, and ſo highly revered, that Darius, in his expiring moments, hearing the kind treatment they had met with, could not forbear lifting up his dying hands towards heaven, and wiſh ſucceſs to ſo wiſe and generous a conqueror, who governed his paſſions ſo abſolutely.

In the enumeration of Alexander's good qualities, I muſt not omit one rarely found among the great, and which nevertheleſs does honour to human nature, and makes life happy: this is, his being informed by a ſoul capable of a tender friendſhip; his openneſs, truth, perſeverance, and humility, in ſo

[t] Plut. in Apoph. p. 174.

[u] *Et juvenis, & cælebs, & victor.* Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3.

exalted a fortune, which generally conſiders itſelf only, makes its grandeur conſiſt in humbling all things around it, and is better pleaſed with ſervile wretches, than with free, ſincere friends.

Alexander endeared himſelf to his officers and ſoldiers; treated them with the greateſt familiarity; admitted them to his table, his exerciſes, and converſations; was deeply troubled for them when involved in any calamity, grieved for them when ſick, rejoiced at their recovery, and ſhared in whatever befel them. We have examples of this in Hephæſtion, in Ptolemy, in Craterus, and many others. A prince of real merit, does no ways debaſe his dignity, by ſuch a familiarity and condeſcenſion; but, on the contrary, is more beloved and reſpected upon that very account. Every man of a tall ſtature, does not ſcruple to put himſelf upon a level with the reſt of mankind, well knowing that he ſhall over-top them all. It is the intereſt of truly diminutive perſons only, not to vie in ſtature with the tall, nor to appear in a crowd.

Alexander was dear to others, becauſe they were ſenſible he was beforehand with them in affection. This circumſtance made the ſoldiers ſtrongly deſirous to pleaſe him, and fired them with intrepidity; hence they were always ready to execute all his orders, though attended with the greateſt difficulties and dangers: this made them ſubmit patiently to the ſevereſt hardſhips, and threw them into the deepeſt affliction, whenever they happened to give him any room for diſcontent.

In this picture which has been given of Alexander, what was wanting to complete his glory? Military virtue has been exhibited in its utmoſt ſplendour: goodneſs, clemency, moderation, and wiſdom, have crowned it, and added ſuch a luſtre, as greatly enhances its value. Let us ſuppoſe, that Alexander, to ſecure his glory and his victories, ſtops ſhort in his career; that he himſelf checks his ambition, and raiſes Darius to the throne, with the ſame hand that had diſpoſſeſſed him of it; makes Aſia Minor, inhabited chiefly by Greeks, free and independent of Perſia; that he declares himſelf protector of all the cities and ſtates of Greece, in no other view than to ſecure their liberties, and the enjoyment of their reſpective laws and cuſtoms; that he afterwards returns to Macedon, and there, contented with the lawful bounds of his empire, makes all

his glory and delight conſiſt in rendering his people happy, in procuring it abundance of all things, in ſeeing the laws put in execution, and making juſtice flouriſh; in cauſing virtue to be had in honour, and in endearing himſelf to his ſubjects: in fine, that now become, by the terror of his arms, and much more ſo by the fame of his virtues, the admiration of the whole world, he ſees himſelf, in ſome meaſure, the arbiter of all nations, and exerciſes, over the minds of men, ſuch an empire, as is infinitely more laſting and honourable than that which is founded on fear only: ſuppoſing all this to have happened, Alexander would have been as great, as glorious, as good a prince as ever bleſſed mankind.

To the forming ſo great a character, a greatneſs of ſoul, and a moſt refined taſte for true glory, are required, ſuch as is ſeldom met with in hiſtory. Men generally do not * conſider, that the glory which attends the moſt ſhining conqueſts, is greatly inferior to the reputation of a prince, who has deſpiſed and trampled upon ambition, and known how to give bounds to univerſal power. But Alexander was far from poſſeſſing theſe happy qualities. His uninterrupted felicity, that never experienced adverſe fortune, intoxicated and changed him to ſuch a degree, that he no longer appeared the ſame man; and I do not remember that ever the poiſon of proſperity had a more ſudden or more forcible effect than upon him.

SECOND PART.

From the ſiege of Tyre, which was ſoon after the battle of Iſſus, in which Alexander diſplayed all the courage and abilities of a great warrior, we ſee the virtues and noble qualities of this prince degenerate on a ſudden, and make way for the greateſt vices and moſt brutal paſſions. If we ſometimes, through the exceſſes to which he abandons himſelf, perceive ſome bright rays of humanity, gentleneſs, and moderation, theſe are the effects of a happy diſpoſition, which, not being quite extinguiſhed by vice, is however governed by it.

* *Scis ubi vera principis, ubi ſempiterna ſit gloria——Arcus, & ſtatuas, aras etiam templaque demolitur & obſcurat oblivio; contrà, contemptor ambitionis, & infinitæ potentiæ domitor ac frænator animus ipſa vetuſtate floreſcit.* PLIN. in Pan. Trajan.

Was ever enterpriſe more wild and extravagant, than that of croſſing the ſandy deſarts of Lybia: of expoſing his army to the danger of periſhing with thirſt and fatigue; of interrupting the courſe of his victories, and giving his enemy time to raiſe a new army, merely for the ſake of marching ſo far, in order to get himſelf named the ſon of Jupiter Ammon; and purchaſe, at ſo dear a rate, a title which could only render him contemptible?

[x] How mean was it in Alexander, to omit always in his letters, after Darius's defeat, the Greek word, which ſignifies *health*,* except in thoſe he wrote to Phocion and Antipater! As if this title, becauſe employed by other men, could have degraded a king, who is obliged by his office to procure, at leaſt to wiſh, all his ſubjects the enjoyment of the felicity implied by that word.

Of all vices, none is ſo groveling, none ſo unworthy, not only of a prince, but of a man of honour, as drunkenneſs; its bare name is intolerable, and ſtrikes us with horror. How infamous a pleaſure is it, to ſpend whole days and nights in carouſing, to continue theſe exceſſes for weeks together; to pride one's ſelf in exceeding other men in intemperance, and to endanger one's life in no other view than to gain ſuch a victory! Not to mention the infamous enormities that attend theſe debauches, how greatly ſhocking is it to hear the frantic diſcourſes of a ſon, who, being intoxicated with the fumes of wine, induſtriouſly ſtrives to defame his father, to ſully his glory, and, loſt to all ſhame, prefer himſelf to him? Drunkenneſs is only the occaſion, not the cauſe, of theſe exceſſes. It betrays the ſentiments of the heart, but does not place them there. Alexander, puffed up by his victories, greedy and inſatiable of praiſe, intoxicated with the mighty idea he entertained of his own merit, jealous of, and deſpiſing all mankind, has the power in his ſober moments to conceal his ſentiments; but no ſooner is he intoxicated, than he ſhows himſelf to be what he really is.

What ſhall we ſay of his barbarouſly murdering an old friend; who, though indiſcreet and raſh, was yet his friend? Of the death of the moſt honeſt man in all his court, whoſe

[x] Plut. in Phoc. p. 749.

* Καιρειν.

only crime was his refuſing to pay him divine homage? Of the execution of two of his principal officers, who were condemned, though nothing could be proved againſt them, and on the ſlighteſt ſuſpicions?

I paſs over a great many other vices, which Alexander, according to moſt hiſtorians, gave into, and which are not to be juſtified: to ſpeak of him, therefore, only as a warrior and a conqueror; qualities in which he is generally conſidered, and which have gained him the eſteem of all ages and nations; all we now have to do, is, to examine whether this eſteem be ſo well grounded as is generally ſuppoſed.

I have already obſerved, that, to the battle of Iſſus and the ſiege of Tyre incluſively, it cannot be denied but that Alexander was a great warrior and an illuſtrious general. But yet I doubt very much, whether, during theſe firſt years of his exploits, he ought to be conſidered in a more conſpicuous light than his father: whoſe actions, though not ſo dazzling, are however as much applauded by good judges, and thoſe of the military profeſſion. Philip, at his acceſſion to the throne, found all things unſettled. He himſelf was obliged to lay the foundations of his own fortune, and was not ſupported by the leaſt foreign aſſiſtance. He raiſed himſelf to the power and grandeur to which he afterwards attained. He was obliged to train up, not only his ſoldiers, but his officers; to inſtruct them in all the military exerciſes; to inure them to the fatigues of war; and to his care and abilities Macedonia owed the riſe of the celebrated Phalanx, that is, of the beſt troops the world had then ever ſeen, and to which Alexander owed all his conqueſts. How many obſtacles ſtood in Philip's way, before he could poſſeſs himſelf of the power which Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, had ſucceſſively exerciſed over Greece! The Greeks, who were the braveſt and moſt ſagacious people in the univerſe, would not acknowledge him for their chief, till he acquired that title by wading through ſeas of blood, and by gaining numberleſs conqueſts over them. Thus we ſee, that the way was prepared for Alexander's executing his great deſign; the plan whereof, and the moſt excellent inſtructions relative to it, had been laid down to him by his father. Now, will it not appear a much eaſier taſk, to ſubdue Aſia with Grecian armies, than to ſubject the Greeks who had ſo often triumphed over Aſia?

But without carrying further the parrallel of Alexander with Philip, which all, who do not conſider heroes according to the number of provinces they have conquered, but by the intrinſic value of their actions, muſt give in favour of the latter: what judgment are we to form of Alexander, after his triumph over Darius; and is it poſſible to propoſe him, during the latter part of his life, as a model worthy the imitation of thoſe who aſpire to the character of great ſoldiers and illuſtrious conquerors?

In this inquiry, I ſhall begin with that which is unanimouſly agreed, by all the writers on this ſubject, to be the foundation of the ſolid glory of a hero; I mean the juſtice of the war in which he engages, without which he is not a conqueror and a hero, but an uſurper and a robber. Alexander, in making Aſia the ſeat of war, and turning his arms againſt Darius, had a plauſible pretence for it; becauſe the Perſians had been in all ages, and were at that time profeſſed enemies to the Greeks, over whom he had been appointed generaliſſimo, and whoſe injuries he therefore might think himſelf juſtly entitled to revenge. But then, what right had Alexander over the great number of nations, who did not know even the name of Greece, and had never done him the leaſt injury? The Scythian ambaſſador ſpoke very judiciouſly, when he addreſſed him in theſe words: "What have we to do "with thee? We never once ſet our feet in thy country. "Are not thoſe who live in woods allowed to be ignorant of "thee, and the place from whence thou comeſt? Thou "boaſteſt, that the only deſign of thy marching is to extirpate "robbers; Thou thyſelf art the greateſt robber in the world." This is Alexander's exact character, in which there is nothing to be rejected.

A pirate ſpake to him to the ſame effect, and in ſtronger terms. Alexander aſked * him, what right he had to infeſt the ſeas? "The ſame that thou haſt," replied the pirate with a generous liberty, "to infeſt the univerſe: But becauſe I do "this in a ſmall ſhip, I am called a robber; and becauſe thou

* *Eleganter & veraciter Alexandro illi Magno comprehenſus pirata reſpondit. Nam cum idem rex hominem interrogâſſet, quid ei videretur ut mare haberet infeſtum; ille, liberâ contumaciâ: Quòd tibi, inquit, ut orbem terrarum. Sed quia id ego exiguo navigio facio, latro vocor: quia tu magna claſſe, imperator.* Refert Nonius Marc. ex CICER. 3. de rep.

" acteſt the ſame part with a great fleet, thou art entitled con-
" queror." This was a witty and juſt anſwer, ſays [y] St. Auſtin, who has preſerved this ſmall fragment of Cicero.

If therefore it ought to be laid down as a maxim, and no reaſonable man can doubt of its being ſo, that every war, undertaken merely from the view of ambition, is unjuſt; and that the prince who begins it, is guilty of all the ſad conſequences, and all the blood ſhed on that occaſion: what idea ought we to form of Alexander's laſt conqueſts? Was ever ambition more extravagant, or rather more furious, than that of this prince? Come * from a little ſpot of ground; and forgetting the narrow limits of his paternal domains, after he has far extended his conqueſts; has ſubdued, not only the Perſians, but alſo the Bactrians and Indians; has added kingdom to kingdom: after all this, I ſay, he ſtill finds himſelf pent up; and determined to force, if poſſible, the barriers of nature, he endeavours to diſcover a new world, and does not ſcruple to ſacrifice millions of men to his ambition or curioſity. It is related that † Alexander, upon Anaxarchus the philoſopher's telling him that there were an infinite number of worlds, wept to think that it would be impoſſible for him to conquer them all, ſince he had not yet conquered one. It is wrong in ‡ Seneca, to compare theſe pretended heroes, who have gained renown no otherwiſe than by the ruin of nations, to a conflagration and a flood, which lay waſte and deſtroy all things; or to wild beaſts who live merely by blood and ſlaughter?

[y] St. Auſt. de Civ. Dei, l. iv. c. iv.

* *Agebat infelicem Alexandrum furor aliena devaſtandi, & ad ignota mittebat ——Jam in unum regnum multa regna conjecit:* (or *congeſſit*) *jam Græci Perſæque eundem timent: jam etiam á Dario liberæ nationes jugum accipiunt. Hic tamen, ultra Oceanum Solemque, indignatur ab Hercules Liberique veſtigiis victoriam flectere: ipſi naturæ vim parat—&, ut ita dicam, mundi clauſtra perrumpit. Tanta eſt cœcitas mentium, & tanta initiorum ſuorum oblivio. Ille modo ignobilis anguli non ſine controverſia Dominus, detecto ſine terrarum, per ſuum rediturus orbem, triſtis eſt.* Senec. Epiſt. 94. & 119.

† *Alexandro pectus inſatiabile laudis, qui Anaxarcho—innumerabiles Mundos eſſe referenti; Heu me, inquit, miſerum, quòd ne uno quidem adhuc potitus ſum! Anguſta homini poſſeſſio gloriæ fuit, quæ Deorum omnium domicilio ſuffecit.* Val. Max. lib. viii. cap. 14.

‡ *Exitio gentium clari, non minores fuere peſtes mortalium, quàm inundatio—quàm conflagratio.* Senec. Nat. Quæſt. lib. iii. in Præfat.

Alexander, * paſſionately fond of glory, of which he neither knew the nature nor juſt bounds, prided himſelf upon treading in the ſteps of Hercules, and even in carrying his victorious arms farther than him. What reſemblance was there, ſays the ſame Seneca, between that wiſe conqueror, and this frantic youth, who miſtook his ſucceſsful raſhneſs for merit and virtue? Hercules, in his expeditions, made no conqueſts for himſelf. He over-ran the univerſe as the ſubduer of monſters, the enemy of the wicked, the avenger of the good, and the reſtorer of peace by land and ſea. Alexander, on the contrary, an unjuſt robber from his youth, a cruel ravager of provinces, an infamous murderer of his friends, makes his happineſs and glory conſiſt in rendering himſelf formidable to all mortals, forgetting that not only the fierceſt animals, but even the vileſt, make themſelves feared by their poiſons.

But leaving this firſt conſideration, which repreſents conquerors to us as ſo many ſcourges ſent by the wrath of heaven into the world to puniſh the ſins of it, let us proceed to examine the laſt conqueſts, abſtractedly in themſelves, of Alexander, in order to ſee what judgment we are to form of them.

It muſt be confeſſed, that the actions of this prince diffuſe a ſplendour that dazzles and aſtoniſhes the imagination, which is ever fond of the great and marvellous. His enthuſiaſtic courage raiſes and tranſports all who read his hiſtory, as it tranſported himſelf. But ought we to give the name of bravery and valour to a boldneſs that is equally blind, raſh, and impetuous; a boldneſs void of all rule, that will never liſten to the voice of reaſon, and has no other guide than a ſenſeleſs ardour for falſe glory, and a wild deſire of diſtinguiſhing itſelf, be the methods ever ſo unlawful? This character ſuits only a military robber, who has no attendants; whoſe life is only expoſed; and who for that reaſon, may be employed in ſome deſperate action: but is far otherwiſe with regard to a king, for he owes his life to all his army and his

* *Homo gloriæ deditus, cujus nec naturam nec modum noverat, Herculis veſtigia ſequens, ac ne ibi quidem reſiſtens ubi illa defecerant. Quid illi (Herculi) ſimile habebat veſanus adoleſcens, cui pro virtute erat fœlix temeritas? Hercules nihil ſibi vicit: orbem terrarum tranſivit, non concupiſcendo, ſed vindicando. Quid vinceret malorum hoſtis, bonorum vindex, terrarum mariſque pacator? At hic à pueritia latro, gentiumque vaſtator, tam hoſtium pernicies quam amicorum, qui ſummum bonum duceret terrori eſſe cunctis mortalibus; oblitus, non ferociſſima tantùm ſed ignaviſſima quoque animalia timeri ob virus malum.* SENEC. de Benef. l. i. c. 13.

whole kingdom. If we except ſome very rare occaſions, on which a prince is obliged to venture his perſon, and ſhare the danger with his troops in order to preſerve them; he ought to call to mind, that there is a great difference between a general and a private ſoldier. True valour is not deſirous of diſplaying itſelf, is no ways anxious about its own reputation, but is ſolely intent in preſerving the army. It ſteers equally between a fearful wiſdom, that foreſees and dreads all difficulties, and a brutal ardour, which induſtriouſly purſues and confronts dangers of every kind. In a word, to form an accompliſhed general, prudence muſt ſoften and direct the too fiery temper of valour; as this latter muſt animate and warm the coldneſs and ſlowneſs of prudence.

Do any of theſe characteriſtics ſuit Alexander? When we peruſe hiſtory, and follow him to ſieges and battles, we are perpetually alarmed for his ſafety, and that of his army; and conclude every moment that they are upon the point of being deſtroyed. Here we ſee a rapid flood, which is going to draw in, and ſwallow up the conqueror: there we behold a craggy rock, upon which he climbs, and perceives round him ſoldiers, either transfixed by the enemy's darts, or thrown headlong by huge ſtones into precipices. We tremble, when we perceive in a battle the axe juſt ready to cleave his head; and much more, when we behold him alone in a fortreſs, whither his raſhneſs had thrown him, expoſed to all the javelins of the enemy. Alexander was ever perſuaded, that miracles would be wrought in his favour, than which nothing could be more unreaſonable, as Plutarch obſerves; for miracles do not always happen; and the gods at laſt are weary of guiding and preſerving raſh mortals, who abuſe the aſſiſtance they afford them.

[z] Plutarch, in a * treatiſe where he makes the eulogium of Alexander, and exhibits him as an accompliſhed hero, gives a long detail of the ſeveral wounds he received in every part of his body; and pretends that the only deſign of fortune, in thus piercing him with wounds, was to make his courage more conſpicuous. A renowned warrior, whoſe eulogium Plutarch has drawn in another part of his writings, did not

[z] Plut. de fortun. Alex. Orat. II. p. 341.

* This treatiſe if written by Plutarch, ſeems a juvenile performance, and has very much the air of declamation.

judge in this manner. [a] Some perſons applauding him for a wound he had received in battle, the general himſelf declared, that it was a fault which could be excuſed only in a young man, and juſtly deſerved cenſure. It has been obſerved in Hannibal's praiſe, and I myſelf have taken notice of it elſewhere, that he was never wounded * in all his battles. I cannot ſay whether Cæſar ever was.

The laſt obſervation, which relates in general to all Alexander's expeditions in Aſia, muſt neceſſarily leſſen very much the merit of his victories, and the ſplendour of his reputation; and this is the genius and character of the nations againſt whom he fought. Livy, in a digreſſion, where he inquires what would have been the fate of Alexander's arms, in caſe he had turned them towards Italy; and where he ſhows that Rome would certainly have checked his conqueſts, inſiſts ſtrongly on the reflection in queſtion. He oppoſes to this prince, in the article of courage, a great number of illuſtrious Romans, who would have reſiſted him on all occaſions; and in the article of prudence, that auguſt ſenate, which Cyneas, to give a more noble idea of it to Pyrrhus his ſovereign, ſaid, was compoſed of ſo many kings. "Had he † marched (ſays "Livy) againſt the Romans, he would ſoon have found, that "he was no longer combating againſt a Darius, who, encum-"bered with gold and purple, the vain equipage of his gran-"deur, and dragging after him a multitude of women and "eunuchs, came as a prey rather than as an enemy; and "whom Alexander conquered without ſhedding much blood, "and without wanting any other merit, than that of daring to "deſpiſe what was really contemptible. He would have "found Italy very different from India, through which he "marched in a riotous manner, his army quite ſtupified with "wine; particularly when he ſhould have ſeen the foreſts of "Apulia, the mountains of Lucania, and the ſtill recent foot-

[a] Timotheus. Plut. in Pelop. p. 278.

* Mention is made but of one ſingle wound.

† *Non jam cum Dario rem eſſe dixiſſet, quem mulierum ac ſpadonum agmen trahentem, inter purpuram atque aurum, oneratum fortunæ ſuæ apparatibus, prædam veriùs quàm hoſtem, nihil aliud quàm bene auſus vana contemnere, incruentus devicit. Longè alius Italiæ, quàm Indiæ, per quam temulento agmine commeſſabundus inceſſit, viſus illi habitus eſſet, ſaltus Apuliæ ac montes Lucanos cernenti, & viſtigia recentia domeſticæ cladis, ubi avunculus ejus nuper, Epiri Rex, Alexander abſumptus erat.* Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

" ſteps of the defeat of Alexander his uncle, king of Epirus, " who there loſt his life." The hiſtorian adds, that he ſpeaks of Alexander, not yet depraved and corrupted by proſperity, whoſe ſubtle poiſon worked as ſtrongly upon him, as upon any man that ever lived; and he concludes, that being thus transformed, he would have appeared very different in Italy from what he had ſeemed hitherto.

Theſe reflections of Livy ſhow, that Alexander partly owed his victories to the weakneſs of his enemies; and that, had he met with nations as courageous, and as well inured to all the hardſhips of war as the Romans, and commanded by as able, experienced generals as thoſe of Rome; that then his victories would not have been either ſo rapid, or ſo uninterrupted. Nevertheleſs, with ſome, from hence we are to judge of the merits of a conqueror. Hannibal and Scipio are conſidered as two of the greateſt generals that ever lived, and for this reaſon: both of them not only underſtood perfectly the military ſcience, but their experience, their abilities, their reſolution, and courage, were put to the trial, and ſet in the ſtrongeſt light. Now, ſhould we give to either of them an unequal antagoniſt, one whoſe reputation is not anſwerable to theirs, we ſhall no longer have the ſame idea of them; and their victories, though ſuppoſed alike, appear no longer with the ſame luſtre, nor deſerve the ſame applauſe.

Mankind are but too apt to be dazzled by ſhining actions and a pompous exterior, and blindly abandon themſelves to prejudices of every kind. It cannot be denied but that Alexander poſſeſſed very great qualities; but if we throw into the other ſcale his errors and vices, the preſumptuous * idea he entertained of his merit, the high contempt he had for other men, not excepting his own father; his ardent thirſt of praiſe and flattery; his ridiculous notion of fancying himſelf the ſon of Jupiter; of aſcribing divinity to himſelf; of requiring a free, victorious people to pay him a ſervile homage, and proſtrate themſelves ignominiouſly before him; his aban-

* *Referre in tanto Rege piget ſuperbam mutationem veſtis, & deſideratas humi jacentium adulationes, etiam victis Macedonibus graves, nedum victoribus; & fœda ſupplicia, & inter vinum & epulas cædes amicorum, & vanitatem ementiendæ ſtirpis. Quid ſi vini amor in dies fieret acrior; quid ſi trux ac præfervida ira: (nec quicquam dubium inter ſcriptores refero) nullane hæc damna imperatoriis virtutibus ducimus!* Liv. l. ix. n. 17.

doning himſelf ſo ſhamefully to wine; his violent anger, which riſes to brutal ferocity; the unjuſt and barbarous execution of his braveſt and moſt faithful officers, and the murder of his moſt worthy friends in the midſt of feaſts and carouſals, can any one, ſays Livy, believe, that all theſe imperfections do not greatly ſully the reputation of a conqueror? But Alexander's frantic ambition, which knows neither law nor limits; the raſh intrepidity with which he braves dangers, without the leaſt reaſon or neceſſity; the weakneſs and ignorance of the nations (totally unſkilled in war) againſt whom he fought: do not theſe enervate the reaſons for which he is thought to have merited the ſurname of Great, and the title of Hero? This however I leave to the prudence and equity of my reader.

As to myſelf, I am ſurpriſed to find that all orators who applaud a prince, never fail to compare him to Alexander. They fancy, that when he is once equalled to this king, it is impoſſible for panegyric to ſoar higher: they cannot image to themſelves any thing more auguſt; and think they have omitted the ſtroke which finiſhes the glory of a hero, ſhould they not exalt him by this compariſon. In my opinion this denotes a falſe taſte, a wrong turn of thinking; and, if I might be allowed to ſay it, a want of judgment, which muſt naturally ſhock a reaſonable mind. For, as Alexander was inveſted with ſupreme power, he ought to have fulfilled the ſeveral duties of the ſovereignty. We do not find that he poſſeſſed the firſt, the moſt eſſential, and moſt excellent virtues of a great prince, which are to be the father, the guardian, and ſhepherd of his people; to govern them by good laws; to make their trade, both by ſea and land, flouriſh; to encourage and protect arts and ſciences, to eſtabliſh peace and plenty, and not ſuffer his ſubjects to be in any manner aggrieved or injured; to maintain an agreeable harmony between all orders of the ſtate, and make them conſpire, in due proportion, to the public welfare; to employ himſelf in doing juſtice to all his ſubjects, to hear their diſputes, and reconcile them; to conſider himſelf as the father of his people, conſequently as obliged to provide for all their neceſſities, and to procure them the ſeveral enjoyments of life. Now Alexander, who almoſt a moment after he aſcended the throne left Macedonia, and never returned back into it, did not endea-

vour at any of theſe things, which however are the chief and moſt ſubſtantial duties of a great prince.

He ſeems poſſeſſed of ſuch qualities only as are of the ſecond rank, I mean thoſe of war, and theſe are all extravagant; are carried to the raſheſt and moſt odious exceſs, and to the extremes of folly and fury; whilſt his kingdom is left a prey to the rapine and exactions of Antipater; and all the conquered provinces abandoned to the inſatiable avarice of the governors, who carried their oppreſſion ſo far, that Alexander was forced to put them to death. Nor do his ſoldiers appear in a more advantageous light: for theſe after having plundered the wealth of the Eaſt, and after the prince had given them the higheſt marks of his beneficence, grew ſo licentious, ſo debauched and abandoned to vices of every kind, that he was forced to pay their debts, amounting to fifteen hundred thouſand pounds. What ſtrange men were theſe! how depraved their ſchool! how pernicious the fruit of their victories! Is it doing honour to a prince; is it adorning his panegyric, to compare him with ſuch a model?

The Romans, indeed, ſeem to have held Alexander's memory in great veneration; but I very much queſtion whether in the virtuous ages of the commonwealth, he would have been conſidered as ſo great a man. Cæſar [b] ſeeing his ſtatue in a temple in Spain, during his government of it, after his prætorſhip, could not forbear groaning and ſighing, when he compared the few glorious actions achieved by him, to the mighty exploits of this conquerer. It was ſaid that Pompey, in one of his triumphs, appeared dreſſed in that king's ſurtout. Auguſtus pardoned the Alexandrians, for the ſake of their founder. Caligula, in a ceremony in which he aſſumed the character of a mighty conqueror, wore Alexander's coat of mail. But no one carried his veneration for this monarch ſo far as Caracalla. He uſed the ſame kind of arms and goblets as that prince: he had a Macedonian phalanx in his army: he perſecuted the Peripatetics, and would have burnt all the books of Ariſtotle their founder, becauſe he was ſuſpected to have conſpired with thoſe who poiſoned Alexander.

[b] Dion. l. xxxvii. p. 53. App. de Bell. Mithrid. p. 253. Dion. l. li. p. 454. Id. l. lix. p. 653. Id. l. lxxvii. p. 873.

I believe that I may juſtly aſſert, that if an impartial perſon of good ſenſe reads Plutarch's lives of illuſtrious men with attention, they will leave ſuch a tacit and ſtrong impreſſion in his mind, as will make him conſider Alexander one of the leaſt valuable among them. But how ſtrong would the contraſt be found, had we the lives of Epaminondas, of Hannical and Scipio, the loſs of which can never be too much regretted! How little would Alexander appear, ſet off with all his titles, and ſurrounded by all his conqueſts, even if conſidered in a military light, when compared to thoſe heroes who were truly great, and worthy their exalted reputation!

SECT. XX. *Reflections on the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, by Monſieur Boſſuet, Biſhop of Meaux.*

THE reader will not be diſpleaſed with my inſerting here part of the admirable * reflections of the Biſhop of Meaux, on the character and government of the Perſians, Greeks, and Macedonians, whoſe hiſtory we have heard.

The Greek nations, ſeveral of whom had at firſt lived under a monarchical form of government, having ſtudied the art of civil polity, imagined they were able to govern themſelves, and moſt of their cities formed themſelves into commonwealths. But the wiſe legiſlators, who aroſe in every country, as a Thales, a Pythagoras, a Pittacus, a Lycurgus, a Solon, and many others mentioned in hiſtory, prevented liberty from degenerating into licentiouſneſs. Laws drawn up with great ſimplicity, and few in number, awed the people, held them in their duty, and made them all conſpire to the general good of the country.

The idea of liberty which ſuch a condrct inſpired, was wonderful. For the liberty which the Greeks figured to themſelves, was ſubject to the law, that is, to reaſon itſelf, acknowledged as ſuch by the whole nation. They would not let men riſe to power among them. Magiſtrates, who were feared during their office, became afterwards private men, and had no authority but what their experience gave them. The law was conſidered as their ſovereign; it was ſhe appointed magiſtrates, preſcribed the limits of their

* Diſcourſe on univerſal hiſtory. Part iii. Chap. 4.

power, and puniſhed their mal-adminiſtration. The advantage of this government was, the citizens bore ſo much the greater love to their country, as all ſhared in the government of it; and as every individual was capable of attaining its higheſt dignities.

The advantage which accrued to Greece from philoſophy, with regard to the preſervation of its form of government, is incredible. The greater freedom theſe nations enjoyed, the greater neceſſity there was to ſettle the laws relating to manners and thoſe of ſociety, agreeable to reaſon and good ſenſe. From Pythagoras, Thales, Anaxagoras, Socrates, Archytas, Plato, Xenophon, Ariſtotle, and a multitude more, the Greeks received their noble precepts.

But why ſhould we mention philoſophers only? The writings of even the poets, which were in every body's hands, diverted them very much, but inſtructed them ſtill more. The moſt renowned of conquerors conſidered Homer as a maſter, who taught him to govern wiſely. This great poet inſtructed people, no leſs happily, in obedience, and the duties of a good citizen.

When the Greeks, thus educated, ſaw the delicacy of the Aſiatics; their dreſs and beauty, emulating that of women, they held them in the utmoſt contempt. But their form of government, that had no other rule than their prince's will, which took place of all laws, not excepting the moſt ſacred, inſpired them with horror; and the Barbarians were the moſt hateful of objects to Greece.

[c] The Greeks had imbibed this hatred in the moſt early times, and it was become almoſt natural to them. A circumſtance which made theſe nations delight ſo much in Homer's poems, was his celebrating the advantages and victories of Greece over Aſia. On the ſide of Aſia was Venus, that is to ſay, the pleaſures, the idle loves, and effeminacy: on that of Greece was Juno, or in other words, gravity with conjugal affection, Mercury with eloquence, and Jupiter with wiſe policy. With the Aſiatics was Mars, an impetuous and brutal deity, that is to ſay, war carried on with fury: with the Greeks Pallas, or, in other words, the ſcience of war and valour, conducted by reaſon. The Grecians, from this time,

[c] Iſocrates in Panegyr.

had ever imagined, that underſtanding and true bravery were natural as well as peculiar to them. They could not bear the thoughts of Aſia's deſign to conquer them; and in bowing to this yoke, they would have thought they had ſubjected virtue to pleaſure, the mind to the body, and true courage to force without reaſon, which conſiſted merely in numbers.

The Greeks were ſtrongly inſpired with theſe ſentiments, when Darius, ſon of Hyſtaſpes, and Xerxes invaded them with armies ſo prodigiouſly numerous as exceeds all belief. The Perſians found often, to their coſt, the great advantage which diſcipline has over multitude and confuſion; and how greatly ſuperior courage (when conducted by art) is to a blind impetuoſity.

Perſia, after having been ſo often conquered by the Greeks, had nothing to do but to ſow diviſions among them; and the height to which conqueſt had raiſed the latter, facilitated this effect. [d] As fear held them in the bands of union, victory and ſecurity diſſolved them. Having always been uſed to fight and conquer, they no ſooner believed that the power of the Perſians could not diſtreſs them, but they turned their arms againſt each other.

Among the ſeveral republics of which Greece was compoſed, Athens and Lacedæmon were undoubtedly the chief. Theſe two great commonwealths, whoſe manners and conduct were directly oppoſite, perplexed and incommoded one another, in the common deſign they had of ſubjecting all Greece: ſo that they were eternally at variance, and this more from a contrariety of intereſts, than an oppoſition of tempers and diſpoſitions.

The Grecian cities would not ſubject themſelves to either: for beſides that every one of them deſired to live free and independent, they were not pleaſed with the government of either of thoſe two commonwealths. We have ſhown, in the courſe of this hiſtory, that the Peloponneſian, and other wars, were either owing to, or ſupported by, the reciprocal jealouſy of Lacedæmonia and Athens. But at the ſame time that this jealouſy diſturbed, it ſupported Greece in ſome

[d] Plat. de Leg. l. iii.

meaſure; and kept it from being dependent on either of thoſe republics.

The Perſians ſoon perceived this ſtate and condition of Greece; after which, the whole ſecret of their politics was to keep up theſe jealouſies, and foment theſe diviſions. Lacedæmonia, being the moſt ambitious, was the firſt that made them engage in the Grecian quarrels. The Perſians took part in them, with a view of ſubjecting the whole nation; and induſtrious to make the Greeks weaken one another, they only waited for the favourable inſtant to cruſh them all together. [e] And now the cities of Greece conſidered, in their wars, only the king of Perſia; whom they called the great king, or the king, by way of eminence, as if they already thought themſelves his ſubjects. However, when Greece was upon the brink of ſlavery, and ready to fall into the hands of the Barbarians, it was impoſſible for the genius, the ancient ſpirit of the country, not to rouſe and take the alarm. Ageſilaus, king of Lacedæmonia, made the Perſians tremble in Aſia Minor, and ſhowed that they might be humbled. Their weakneſs was ſtill more evident, by the glorious retreat of the ten thouſand Greeks, who had followed the Younger Cyrus.

It was then that all Greece ſaw more plainly than ever, that it poſſeſſed an invincible body of ſoldiery, which was able to ſubdue all nations; and that nothing but its feuds and diviſions could ſubject it to an enemy, who was too weak to reſiſt it when united.

Philip of Macedon, a prince whoſe abilities were equal to his valour, took ſo great advantage of the diviſions which reigned between the various cities and commonwealths, that though his kingdom was but ſmall, yet, as it was united, and his power abſolute, he at laſt, partly by artifice, and partly by ſtrength, roſe to greater power than any of the Grecian ſtates, and obliged them all to march under his ſtandards againſt the common enemy. This was the ſtate of Greece when Philip loſt his life, and Alexander his ſon ſucceeded to his kingdom and to the deſigns he had projected.

The Macedonians, at his acceſſion, were not only well diſciplined and inured to toils, but triumphant; and become, by

[e] Plat. de Leg. l. iii. Iſocrat. in Paneg.

ſo many ſucceſſes, almoſt as much ſuperior to the other Greeks in valour and diſcipline, as the reſt of the Greeks were ſuperior to the Perſians, and to ſuch nations as reſembled them.

Darius, who reigned over Perſia in Alexander's time, was a juſt, brave, and generous prince; was beloved by his ſubjects, and wanted neither good ſenſe, nor vigour, for the execution of his deſigns. But, if we compare them; if we oppoſe the genius of Darius, to the penetrating, ſublime one of Alexander; the valour of the former, to the mighty, invincible courage (which obſtacles animated) of the latter; with that boundleſs deſire of Alexander, of augmenting his glory, and his entire belief that all things ought to bow the neck to him, as being formed by Providence ſuperior to the reſt of mortals; a belief with which he inſpired, not only his generals, but the meaneſt of his ſoldiers, who thereby roſe above difficulties, and even above themſelves: the reader will eaſily judge which of the monarchs was to be victorious.

If to theſe conſiderations we add the advantages which the Greeks and Macedonians had over their enemies, it muſt be confeſſed, that it was impoſſible for the Perſian empire to ſubſiſt any longer, when invaded by ſo great a hero, and by ſuch invincible armies. And thus we diſcover, at one and the ſame time, the circumſtance which ruined the empire of the Perſians, and raiſed that of Alexander.

To ſmooth his way to victory, the Perſians happened to loſe the only general who was able to make head againſt the Greeks, and this was Memnon of Rhodes. So long as Alexander fought againſt this illuſtrious warrior, he might glory in having vanquiſhed an enemy worthy of himſelf. But in the very infancy of a diverſion, which began already to divide Greece, Memnon died, after which Alexander obliged all things to give way before him.

This prince made his entrance into Babylon, with a ſplendor and magnificence which had never been ſeen before; and, after having revenged Greece; after ſubduing, with incredible ſwiftneſs, all the nations ſubject to Perſia; to ſecure his new empire on every ſide, or rather to ſatiate his ambition, and render his name more famous than that of Bacchus, he marched into India, and there extended his conqueſts

farther than that celebrated conqueror had done. But the monarch, whoſe impetuous career neither deſerts, rivers, nor mountains could ſtop, was obliged to yield to the murmurs of his ſoldiers, who called aloud for eaſe and repoſe.

Alexander returned to Babylon, dreaded and reſpected, not as a conqueror, but as a god. Nevertheleſs, the formidable empire he had acquired, ſubſiſted no longer than his life, which was but ſhort. At thirty-three years of age, in the midſt of the grandeſt deſigns that ever man formed, and fluſhed with the fureſt hopes of ſucceſs, he died before he had leiſure to ſettle his affairs on a ſolid foundation; leaving behind him a weak brother, and children very young, all incapable of ſupporting the weight of ſuch a power.

But the circumſtance which proved moſt fatal to his family and empire, was his having taught the generals who ſurvived him, to breathe nothing but ambition and war. He foreſaw the prodigious lengths they would go after his death. To curb their ambitious views, and for fear of miſtaking in his conjectures, he did not dare to name his ſucceſſor, or the guardian of his children. He only foretold, that his friends would ſolemnize his obſequies with bloody battles; and he expired in the flower of his age, full of the ſad images of the confuſion which would follow his death.

And indeed, Macedonia, the kingdom he inherited, which his anceſtors had governed during ſo many ages, was invaded on all ſides, as a ſucceſſion that was become vacant; and after being long expoſed a prey, was at laſt poſſeſſed by another family. Thus this great conqueror, the moſt renowned the world ever ſaw, was the laſt king of his family. Had he lived peaceably in Macedon, the vaſt bounds of his empire would not have proved a temptation to his generals; and he would have left to his children the kingdom he inherited from his anceſtors. But, riſing to too exalted an height of power, he proved the deſtruction of his poſterity; and ſuch was the glorious fruit of all his conqueſts.

BOOK THE SIXTEENTH.

THE

HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

CHAPTER I.

SECT. I. *Troubles which followed the death of Alexander. The partition of the provinces among the generals. Aridæus elected king. Perdiccas appointed his guardian, and regent of the empire.*

IN relating the death of Alexander the Great, I mentioned the many troubles and commotions that aroſe in the army on the firſt news of that event. All the troops in general, ſoldiers as well as officers, had their thoughts entirely taken up at firſt, with the loſs of a prince whom they loved as a father, and reverenced almoſt as a god, and abandoned themſelves immoderately to grief and tears. A mournful ſilence reigned throughout the camp; but this was ſoon ſucceeded by diſmal ſighs and cries, which ſpeak the true language of the heart, and never flow from a vain oſtentation of ſorrow, which is too often paid to cuſtom and decorum on ſuch occaſions.*

When the firſt impreſſions of grief had given place to reflection, they began to conſider, with the utmoſt conſternation, the ſtate in which the death of Alexander had left them. They found themſelves at an infinite diſtance from their native country, and amidſt a people lately ſubdued, ſo little accuſtomed to their new yoke, that they were hardly acquainted with their preſent maſters, and had not as yet had ſufficient time to forget their ancient laws, and that form of

* *Paſſim ſilentia et gemitus; nihil compoſitum in oſtentationem—— altiùs mœrebant.* TACIT.

government under which they had always lived. What meaſures could be taken to keep a country of ſuch vaſt extent in ſubjection? How could it be poſſible to ſuppreſs thoſe ſeditions and revolts which would naturally break out on all ſides in that deciſive moment? What expedients could be formed to reſtrain thoſe troops within the limits of their duty, who had ſo long been habituated to complaints and murmurs, and were commanded by chiefs, whoſe views and pretenſions were ſo different?

The only remedy for theſe various calamities ſeemed to conſiſt in a ſpeedy nomination of a ſucceſſor to Alexander; and the troops, as well as the officers, and the whole Macedonian ſtate, ſeemed at firſt to be very deſirous of this expedient: and, indeed, their common intereſt and ſecurity, with the preſervation of their new conqueſts, amidſt the barbarous nations that ſurrounded them, made it neceſſary for them to conſider this election as their firſt and moſt important care, and to turn their thoughts to the choice of a perſon qualified to fill ſo arduous a ſtation, and ſuſtain the weight of it in ſuch a manner as to be capable of ſupporting the general order and tranquillity. But it had already been written,[f] "That the kingdom of Alexander ſhould be divided and rent aſunder after his death," and that it ſhould not be tranſmitted in the uſual manner "to his poſterity." No efforts of human wiſdom could eſtabliſh a ſole ſucceſſor to that prince. In vain did they deliberate, conſult, and decide;[g] nothing could be executed contrary to the pre-ordained event, and nothing ſhort of it could poſſibly ſubſiſt. A ſuperior and inviſible Power had already diſpoſed of the kingdom, and divided it by an inevitable decree, as will be evident in the ſequel. The circumſtances of this partition had been denounced near three centuries before this time; the portions of it had already been aſſigned to different poſſeſſors, and nothing could fruſtrate that diviſion, which was only to be deferred for a few years. Till the arrival of that period, men indeed might raiſe commotions, and concert a variety of movements; but all their efforts would only tend to the accompliſhment of what had been ordained by the ſovereign maſter of kingdoms, and of what had been foretold by his prophet.

f Dan. xi. 4. g *Non erit, non ſtabit, non fiet.* Isai.

Alexander had a ſon by Barſina, and had conferred the name of Hercules upon him. Roxana, another of his wives, was advanced in her pregnancy when that prince died. He had likewiſe a natural brother, called Aridæus; but he would not upon his death-bed diſpoſe of his dominions, in favour of any heir; for which reaſon this vaſt empire, which no longer had a maſter to ſway it, became a ſource of competition and wars, as Alexander had plainly foreſeen, when he declared, that his friends would celebrate his funeral with bloody battles.

The diviſion was augmented by the equality among the generals of the army, none of whom was ſo ſuperior to his colleagues, either by birth or merit, as to induce them to offer him the empire, and ſubmit to his authority. The cavalry were deſirous that Aridæus ſhould ſucceed Alexander. This prince had diſcovered but little force of mind from the time he had been afflicted in his infancy with a violent indiſpoſition, occaſioned as was pretended, by ſome particular drink, which had been given him by Olympias, and which had diſordered his underſtanding. This ambitious princeſs being apprehenſive that the engaging qualities ſhe diſcovered in Aridæus, would be ſo many obſtacles to the greatneſs of her ſon Alexander, thought it expedient to have recourſe to the criminal precaution already mentioned. The infantry had declared againſt this prince, and were headed by Ptolemy, and other chiefs of great reputation, who began to think of their own particular eſtabliſhment. For a ſudden revolution was working in the minds of theſe officers, and cauſed them to contemn the rank of private perſons, and all dependency and ſubordination, with a view of aſpiring to ſovereign power, which had never employed their thoughts till then, and to which they never thought themſelves qualified to pretend, before this conjuncture of affairs.

[h] Theſe diſputes which engaged the minds of all parties, delayed the interment of Alexander for the ſpace of ſeven days; and if we may credit ſome authors, the body continued uncorrupted all that time. It was afterwards delivered to the Egyptians and Chaldeans, who embalmed it after their manner; and Aridæus, a different perſon from him I have

[h] Q. Curt. l. x. Juſtin. l. xiii. Diod. l. xviii.

already mentioned, was charged with the care of conveying it to Alexandria.

After a variety of troubles and agitations had intervened, the principal officers aſſembled at a conference; where it was unanimouſly concluded, that Aridæus ſhould be king, or rather, that he ſhould be inveſted with the ſhadow of royalty. The infirmity of mind, which ought to have excluded him from the throne, was the very motive of their advancing him to it, and united all ſuffrages in his favour. It favoured the hopes and pretenſions of all the chiefs, and covered their deſigns. It was alſo agreed in this aſſembly, that if Roxana, who was then in the fifth or ſixth month of her pregnancy, ſhould have a ſon, he ſhould be aſſociated with Aridæus in the throne. Perdiccas, to whom Alexander had left his ring, in the laſt moments of his life, had the perſon of the prince conſigned to his care as a guardian, and was conſtituted regent of the kingdom.

The ſame aſſembly, whatever reſpect they might bear to the memory of Alexander, thought fit to annul ſome of his regulations, which had been deſtructive to the ſtate, and had exhauſted his treaſury. He had given orders for ſix temples to be erected in particular cities which he had named, and had fixed the expences of each of theſe ſtructures at five hundred talents, which amounted to five hundred thouſand crowns. He had likewiſe ordered a pyramid to be raiſed over the tomb of his father Philip, which was to be finiſhed with a grandeur and magnificence equal to that in Egypt, eſteemed one of the ſeven wonders of the world. He had likewiſe planned out other expences of the like kind, which were prudently revoked by the aſſembly.

[i] Within a ſhort time after theſe proceedings, Roxana was delivered of a ſon, who was named Alexander, and acknowledged king, jointly with Aridæus. But neither of theſe princes poſſeſſed any thing more than the name of royalty, as all authority was entirely lodged in the great lords and generals, who had divided the provinces among themſelves.

In Europe; Thrace and the adjacent regions were conſigned to Lyſimachus; and Macedonia, Epirus, and Greece, were alloted to Antipater and Craterus.

[i] Diod. l. xviii. p. 587, 588. Juſtin. l. xiii. c. 4. Q. Curt. l. x. c. 10.

In Africa; Egypt and the other conqueſts of Alexander in Libya and Cyrenaica, were aſſigned to Ptolemy the ſon of Lagus, with that part of Arabia which borders on Egypt. The month of Thoth in the autumn is the epocha, from whence the years of the empire of the Lagides in Egypt begin to be computed; though Ptolemy did not aſſume the title of king in conjunction with the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, till about ſeventeen years after this event.

In the leſſer Aſia; Lycia, Pamphylia, and the greater Phrygia, were given to Antigonus; Caria, to Caſſander; Lydia, to Menander; the leſſer Phrygia, to Leonatus; Armenia, to Neoptolemus; Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, to Eumenes. Theſe two provinces had never been ſubjected by the Macedonians, and Ariarathes King of Cappadocia continued to govern them as formerly; Alexander having advanced with ſo much rapidity to his other conqueſts, as left him no inclination to amuſe himſelf with the entire reduction of that province, and contented himſelf with a ſlight ſubmiſſion.

Syria and Phœnicia fell to Laomeden; one of the two Medias to Atropates, and the other to Perdiccas. Perſia was aſſigned to Peuceſtes; Babylonia, to Archon; Meſopotamia, to Arceſilas; Parthia and Hyrcania, to Phrataphernes; Bactria and Sogdiana, to Philip; the other regions were divided among generals whoſe names are now but little known.

Seleucus the ſon of Antiochus, was placed at the head of the cavalry of the allies, which was a poſt of great importance; and Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, commanded the companies of guards.

The Upper Aſia, which extends almoſt to India, and even India alſo, were left in the poſſeſſion of thoſe who had been appointed governors of thoſe countries by Alexander.

[k] The ſame diſpoſition generally prevailed in all the provinces I have already mentioned; and it is in this ſenſe that moſt interpreters explain that paſſage in the Maccabees, which declares, that Alexander, having aſſembled the great men of his court who had been bred up with him, divided his kingdom among them in his life-time. And indeed it was very probable, that this prince, when he ſaw his death ap-

[k] Maccab. l. i. n. 6 & 7.

proaching, and had no inclination to nominate a ſucceſſor himſelf, was contented with confirming each of his officers in the governments he had formerly aſſigned them; which is ſufficient to authoriſe the declaration in the Maccabees, "That he divided his kingdom among them whilſt he was living."

This partition was only the work of man, and its duration was but ſhort. That Being, who reigns alone, and is the only King of Ages, had decreed a different diſtribution. He aſſigned to each his portion, and marked out its boundaries and extent, and his diſpoſition alone was to ſubſiſt.

The partition concluded upon in the aſſembly was the ſource of various diviſions and wars, as will be evident in the ſeries of this hiſtory. Each of theſe governors claiming the exerciſe of an independent and ſovereign power in his particular province. [l] They however paid that veneration to the memory of Alexander, as not to aſſume the title of king, till all the race of that monarch, who had been placed upon the throne, were extinct.

Among the governors of the provinces I have mentioned, ſome diſtinguiſhed themſelves more than others by their reputation, merit, and cabals; and formed different parties, to which the others adhered, agreeably to their particular views, either of intereſt or ambition. For it is not to be imagined that the reſolutions, which are formed in conjunctures of this nature, are much influenced by a devotion to the public good.

[m] Eumenes muſt, however, be excepted: for he undoubtedly was the moſt virtuous man among all the governors, and had no ſuperior in true bravery. He was always firm in the intereſt of the two kings, from a principle of true probity. He was a native of Cardia, a city of Thrace, and his birth was but obſcure. Philip, who had obſerved excellent qualities in him in his youth, kept him near his own perſon in the quality of ſecretary, and repoſed great confidence in him. He was equally eſteemed by Alexander, who treated him with extraordinary marks of his eſteem. Barſina, the firſt lady for whom this prince had entertained a paſſion in Aſia, and by whom he had a ſon named Hercules, had a ſiſter of the ſame

[l] Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2.

[m] Plut. in Eumen. p. 583. Corn. Nep. in Eumen. c. i.

name with her own, and the king eſpouſed her to Eumenes.* We ſhall ſee by the event, that this wiſe favourite conducted himſelf in ſuch a manner as juſtly intitled him to the favour of thoſe two princes, even after their death; and all his ſentiments and actions will make it evident that a man may be a plebeian by birth, and yet very noble by nature.

[n] I have already intimated, that Syſigambis, who had patiently ſupported the death of her father, huſband, and ſon, was incapable of ſurviving Alexander. [o] The death of this princeſs was ſoon followed by that of her two youngeſt daughters, Statira, the widow of Alexander, and Drypetis the relict of Hephæſtion. Roxana, who was apprehenſive leſt Statira ſhould be pregnant by Alexander as well as herſelf, and that the birth of a prince would fruſtrate the meaſures which had been taken to ſecure the ſucceſſion to the ſon ſhe hoped to have, prevailed upon the two ſiſters to viſit her, and ſecretly deſtroyed them in concert with Perdiccas, her only confident in that impious proceeding.

It is now time to enter upon a detail of thoſe actions that were performed by the ſucceſſors of Alexander. I ſhall therefore begin with the defection of the Greeks in Upper Aſia, and with the war which Antipater had to ſuſtain againſt Greece; becauſe thoſe tranſactions are moſt detached, and in a manner diſtinct from the other events.

SECT. II. *The revolt of the Greeks in Upper Aſia. The impreſſions occaſioned by the news of Alexander's death at Athens. The expedition of Antipater into Greece. He is firſt defeated, and afterwards victorious. Makes himſelf maſter of Athens, and leaves a garriſon there. The flight and death of Demoſthenes.*

THE Greeks, [p] whom Alexander had eſtabliſhed, in the form of colonies, in the provinces of Upper Aſia, continued with reluctance in thoſe ſettlements, becauſe they did not experience thoſe delights and ſatisfactions with which they had flattered themſelves, and had long cheriſhed an ardent

A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 323.

[n] Q. Curt. l. x. c. 5. [o] Plut. in Alex. [p] Diod. l. xviii. p. 591, 592.

* Arrian declares he had another wife, l. vii. p. 278.

deſire of returning into their own country. They however durſt not diſcover their uneaſineſs whilſt Alexander was living, but the moment they received intelligence of his death, they openly declared their intentions. They armed twenty thouſand foot, all warlike and experienced ſoldiers, with three thouſand horſe; and having placed Philon at their head, they prepared for their departure, without taking counſel, or receiving orders from any but themſelves, as if they had been ſubject to no authority, and no longer acknowledged any ſuperior.

Perdiccas, who foreſaw the conſequences of ſuch an enterpriſe, at a time when every thing was in motion, and when the troops, as well as their officers, breathed nothing but independency, ſent Pithon to oppoſe them.

The merit of this officer was acknowledged by all; and he willingly charged himſelf with this commiſſion, in expectation of gaining over thoſe Greeks, and of procuring himſelf ſome conſiderable eſtabliſhment in Upper Aſia by their means. Perdiccas, being acquainted with his deſign, gave a very ſurpriſing order to the Macedonians whom he ſent with that general, which was to exterminate the revolters entirely. Pithon, on his arrival, brought over, by money, three thouſand Greeks, who turned their backs in the battle, and were the occaſion of his obtaining a complete victory. The vanquiſhed troops ſurrendered, but made the preſervation of their lives and liberties the condition of their ſubmitting to the conqueror. This was exactly agreeable to Pithon's deſign, but he was no longer maſter of its execution. The Macedonians thinking it incumbent on them to accompliſh the orders of Perdiccas, inhumanly ſlaughtered all the Greeks, without the leaſt regard to the terms they had granted them. Pithon being thus defeated in his views, returned with his Macedonians to Perdiccas.

[q] This expedition was ſoon ſucceeded by the Grecian war. The news of Alexander's death being brought to Athens, had excited great rumours, and occaſioned a joy that was almoſt univerſal. The people, who had long ſuſtained with reluctance the yoke which the Macedonians had impoſed on Greece, made liberty the ſubject of all their diſcourſe: They

[q] Plut. in Phoc. p. 751, 752.

breathed nothing but war, and abandoned themſelves to all the extravagant emotions of a ſenſeleſs and exceſſive joy. Phocion, who was a perſon of wiſdom and moderation, and doubted the truth of the intelligence they had received, endeavoured to calm the turbulency of their minds, which rendered them incapable of counſel and ſedate reflection. As the generality of the orators, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, believed the news of Alexander's death, Phocion roſe up, and expreſſed himſelf in this manner: "If he be really dead to-"day, he will likewiſe be ſo to-morrow and the next day, "ſo that we ſhall have time enough to deliberate in a calm "manner, and with greater ſecurity."

Leoſthenes, who was the firſt that publiſhed this account at Athens, was continually haranguing the people with exceſſive arrogance and vanity. Phocion, who was tired with his ſpeeches, ſaid to him, "Young man, your diſcourſe re-"ſembles the cypreſs, which is tall and ſpreading, but bears "no fruit." He gave great offence, by oppoſing the inclinations of the people in ſo ſtrenuous a manner, and Hyperides, riſing up, aſked him this queſtion: "When would you adviſe "the Athenians to make war?"—"As ſoon (replied Phocion) "as I ſee the young men firmly reſolved to obſerve a ſtrict "diſcipline; the rich diſpoſed to contribute, according to "their abilities, to the expence of a war; and when the "orators no longer rob the public."

All the remonſtrances of Phocion were ineffectual; a war was reſolved upon, and a deputation agreed to be ſent to all the ſtates of Greece, to engage their acceſſion to the league. This is the war in which all the Greeks, except the Thebans, united to maintain the liberty of their country, under the conduct of Leoſthenes, againſt Antipater, and it was called the Lamian war, from the name of a city where the latter was defeated in the firſt battle.

[r] Demoſthenes who was then in exile at Megara, but who amidſt his misfortunes always retained an ardent zeal for the intereſt of his country, and the defence of the common liberty, joined himſelf with the Athenian ambaſſadors ſent into Peloponneſus, and having ſeconded their remonſtrances in a wonderful manner by the force of his eloquence, he

[r] Plut. in Demoſt. p. 858. Juſtin. l. xxiii. c. 5.

engaged Sicyone, Argos, Corinth, and the other cities of Peloponneſus, to accede to the league.

The Athenians were ſtruck with admiration at a zeal ſo noble and generous; and immediately paſſed a decree to recall him from baniſhment. A galley with three ranks of oars was diſpatched to him at Ægina; and, when he entered the port of Piræus, all the magiſtrates and prieſts advanced out of the city, and all the citizens crowded to meet that illuſtrious exile, and received him with the utmoſt demonſtrations of affection and joy, blended at the ſame time with an air of ſorrow and repentance, for the injury they had done him. Demoſthenes was ſenſibly affected with the extraordinary honours that were rendered him; and whilſt he returned as it were in triumph, to his country, amidſt the acclamations of the people, he lifted up his hands towards heaven, to thank the gods for ſo illuſtrious a protection, and congratulated himſelf on beholding a day more glorious to him, than that had proved to Alcibiades, on which he returned from his exile. For his citizens received him from the pure effect of deſire and will; whereas the reception of Alcibiades was involuntary, and his entrance a compulſion upon their inclinations.

* The generality of thoſe who were far advanced in years, were extremely apprehenſive of the event of a war, which had been undertaken with too much precipitation, and without examining into the conſequences with all the attention and ſedateneſs that an enterpriſe of ſo much importance required. They were ſenſible alſo, that there was no neceſſity for declaring themſelves ſo openly againſt the Macedonians, whoſe veteran troops were very formidable; and the example of Thebes, which was deſtroyed by the ſame temerity of conduct, added to their conſternation. But the orators, who derived their advantages from the diſtraction of the public affairs, and to whom, according to the obſervation of Philip, war was peace, and peace war, would not allow the people time to deliberate maturely on the affairs propoſed to their conſideration, but drew them into their ſentiments by a fallacious eloquence, which preſented them with nothing but ſcenes of future conqueſt and triumphs.

* Diod. l. xviii. p. 594—599.

Demoſthenes and Phocion, who wanted neither zeal nor prudence, were of different ſentiments on this occaſion, which was no extraordinary circumſtance with reſpect to them. It is not my province to determine which of them had reaſon on his ſide: But, in ſuch a perplexing conjuncture as this, there is nothing ſurpriſing in a contrariety of opinions, though the reſult of good intentions on both ſides. Phocion's ſcheme was, perhaps, the moſt prudent, and that of Demoſthenes the moſt glorious.

However that were, a conſiderable army was raiſed, and a very numerous fleet fitted out. All the citizens who were under the age of forty, and capable of bearing arms, were drawn out. Three of the ten tribes that compoſed the republic were left for the defence of Attica, the reſt marched out with the reſt of the allies under the command of Leoſthenes.

Antipater was far from being indolent during theſe tranſactions in Greece, of which he had been appriſed, and he had ſent to Leonatus in Phrygia, and to Craterus in Cilicia, to ſolicit their aſſiſtance; but before the arrival of the expected ſuccours, he marched at the head of only thirteen thouſand Macedonians and ſix hundred horſe; the frequent recruits which he had ſent Alexander, having left him no more troops in all the country.

It is ſurpriſing that Antipater ſhould attempt to give battle to the united forces of all Greece with ſuch a handful of men; but he undoubtedly imagined, that the Greeks were no longer actuated by their ancient zeal and ardour for liberty, and that they ceaſed to conſider it as ſuch an ineſtimable advantage, as ought to inſpire them with a reſolution to venture their lives and fortunes for its preſervation. He flattered himſelf that they had begun to familiariſe themſelves with ſubjection; and indeed this was the diſpoſition of the Greeks at that time; in whom appeared no longer the deſcendants of thoſe who had ſo gallantly ſuſtained all the efforts of the Eaſt, and fought a million of men for the preſervation of their freedom.

Antipater advanced towards Theſſaly, and was followed by his fleet which cruiſed along the ſea-coaſts. It conſiſted of one hundred and ten *triremes*, or gallies of three benches of oars. The Theſſalians declared at firſt in his favour; but

having afterwards changed their ſentiments, they joined the Athenians, and ſupplied them with a great body of horſe.

As the army of the Athenians and their allies was much more numerous than that of the Macedonians, Antipater could not ſupport the charge, and was defeated in the firſt battle. As he durſt not hazard a ſecond, and was in no condition to make a ſafe retreat into Macedonia, he ſhut himſelf up in Lamia, a ſmall city in Theſſaly, in order to wait for the ſuccours that were to be tranſmitted to him from Aſia, and he fortified himſelf in that place, which was ſoon beſieged by the Athenians.

The aſſault was carried on with great bravery againſt the town, and the reſiſtance was equally vigorous. Leoſthenes, after ſeveral attempts, deſpairing to carry it by force, changed the ſiege into a blockade, in order to conquer the place by famine. He ſurrounded it with a wall of circumvallation, and a very deep ditch, and by theſe means cut of all ſupplies of proviſion. The city ſoon became ſenſible of the growing ſcarcity, and the beſieged began to be ſeriouſly diſpoſed to ſurrender; when Leoſthenes, in a ſally they made upon him, received a conſiderable wound, which rendered it neceſſary for him to be carried to his tent. Upon which the command of the army was conſigned to Antiphilus, who was equally eſteemed by the troops for his valour and ability.

A. M. 3681. Ant. J. C. 323. [t] Leonatus, in the mean time was marching to the aſſiſtance of the Macedonians beſieged in Lamia; and was commiſſioned, as well as Antigonus, by an agreement made between the generals, to eſtabliſh Eumenes in Cappadocia by force of arms; but they took other meaſures, in conſequence of ſome particular views. Leonatus, who repoſed an entire confidence in Eumenes, declared to him at parting, that the engagement to aſſiſt Antipater was a mere pretext, and that his real intention was to advance into Greece, in order to make himſelf maſter of Macedonia. He at the ſame time ſhowed him letters from Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander, who invited him to come to Pella, and promiſed to eſpouſe him. Leonatus being arrived within a little diſtance of Lamia, marched directly to the enemy, with twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand five hundred horſe. Proſperity had introduced diſ-

[t] Plut. in Eumen. p. 584.

orders into the Grecian army; ſeveral parties of ſoldiers drew off, and retired into their own country on various pretexts, which greatly diminiſhed the number of the troops, who were now reduced to twenty-two thouſand foot. The cavalry amounted to three thouſand five hundred, two thouſand of whom were Theſſalians; and as they conſtituted the main ſtrength of the army, ſo all hopes of ſucceſs were founded in them; and accordingly, when the battle was fought, this body of horſe had the greateſt ſhare in the victory that was obtained. They were commanded by Menon. Leonatus, covered with wounds, loſt his life in the field of battle, and was conveyed into the camp by his troops. The Macedonian phalanx greatly dreaded the ſhock of the cavalry, and had therefore retreated to eminences inacceſſible to the purſuit of the Theſſalians. The Greeks having carried off their dead, erected a trophy, and retired.

[u] The whole converſation at Athens turned upon the glorious exploits of Leoſthenes, who ſurvived his honours but a ſhort time. An univerſal joy ſpread through the city, feſtivals were celebrated, and ſacrifices offered without intermiſſion, to teſtify their gratitude to the gods for all the advantages they had obtained. The enemies of Phocion thinking to mortify him in the moſt ſenſible manner, and reduce him to an incapacity of juſtifying his conſtant oppoſition to that war, aſked him, if he would not have rejoiced to have performed ſo many glorious actions? "Undoubtedly I would "(replied Phocion;) but I would not, at the ſame time "have neglected to offer the advice I gave."* He did not think that a judgment ought to be formed of any particular counſel from mere ſucceſs, but rather from the nature and ſolidity of the counſel itſelf; and he did not retract his ſentiments, becauſe thoſe of an oppoſite nature had been ſucceſsful, which only proved the latter more fortunate, but not more judicious. And as theſe agreeable advices came thick upon each other, Phocion, who was apprehenſive of the ſequel, cried out, "When ſhall we ceaſe to conquer then?"

[u] Plut. in Phoc. p. 752.

* *Non damnavit quod rectè viderat, quia, quod alius malè conſulerat, bene ceſſerat: felicius hoc exiſtimans, illud etiam ſapientius.* Val. Max. lib. iii. cap 8.

Antipater was obliged to ſurrender by capitulation, but hiſtory has not tranſmitted to us the conditions of the treaty. The event only makes it evident, that Leoſthenes compelled him to ſurrender at diſcretion, and he himſelf died a few days after of the wounds he had received at the ſiege. Antipater having quitted Lamia the day after the battle, for he ſeems to have been favourably treated, joined the remains of the army of Leonatus, and took upon him the command of thoſe troops. He was extremely cautious of hazarding a ſecond battle, and kept with his troops, like a judicious and experienced general, on eminences inacceſſible to the enemy's cavalry. Antiphilus, the general of the Greeks, remained with his troops in Theſſaly, and contented himſelf with obſerving the motions of Antipater.

Clitus, who commanded the Macedonian fleet, obtained, much about the ſame time, two victories, near the iſlands of Echinades, over Eetion the admiral of the Athenian navy.

[x] Craterus, who had long been expected, arrived at laſt in Theſſaly, and halted at the river Peneus. He reſigned the command to Antipater, and was contented to ſerve under him. The troops he had brought thither amounted, in conjunction with thoſe of Leonatus, to above forty thouſand foot, three thouſand archers or ſlingers, and five thouſand horſe. The army of the allies was much inferior to theſe troops in number, and conſiſted of no more than twenty-five thouſand foot, and three thouſand five hundred horſe. Military diſcipline had been much neglected among them, after the victories they had obtained. A conſiderable battle was fought near Cranon, in which the Greeks were defeated; they, however, loſt but few troops, and even that diſadvantage was occaſioned by the licentious conduct of the ſoldiers, and the ſmall authority of the chiefs, who were incapable of enforcing obedience to their commands.

Antiphilus and Menon, the two generals of the Grecian army, aſſembled a council the next day, to deliberate, whether they ſhould wait the return of thoſe troops who had retired into their own country, or propoſe terms of accommodation to the enemy. The council declared in favour of the latter; upon which deputies were immediately diſpatched

[x] Diod. l. xviii. p. 599—602.

to the enemy's camp in the name of all the allies. Antipater replied, that he would enter into a ſeparate treaty with each of the cities, perſuading himſelf that he ſhould facilitate the accompliſhment of his deſigns by this proceeding; and he was not deceived in his opinion. His anſwer broke off the negociation; and the moment he preſented himſelf before the cities of the allies, they diſbanded their troops, and ſurrendered up their liberties in the moſt puſillanimous manner, each city being ſolely attentive to its ſeparate advantage.

This circumſtance is a ſufficient confirmation of what I have formerly obſerved with relation to the preſent diſpoſition of the people of Greece. They were no longer animated with the noble zeal of thoſe ancient aſſertors of liberty, who devoted their whole attention to the good of the public, and the glory of the nation; who conſidered the danger of their neighbours and allies as their own, and marched with the utmoſt expedition to their aſſiſtance upon the firſt ſignal of their diſtreſs. Whereas now, if a formidable enemy appeared at the gates of Athens, all the republics of Greece had neither activity nor vigour; Peloponneſus continued without motion, and Sparta was as little heard of as if ſhe had never exiſted. Unhappy effects of the mutual jealouſy which thoſe people had conceived againſt each other, and of their diſregard to the common liberty, in conſequence of a fatal lethargy into which they were ſunk amidſt the greateſt dangers! Theſe are ſymptoms which prognoſticate and prepare the way for approaching decline and ruin.

[y] Antipater improved this deſertion to his own advantage, and marched immediately to Athens, which ſaw herſelf abandoned by all her allies, and conſequently in no condition to defend herſelf againſt a potent and victorious enemy. Before he entered the city, Demoſthenes, and all thoſe of his party, who may be conſidered as the laſt true Greeks, and the defenders of expiring liberty, retired from that place; and the people, in order to transfer upon thoſe great men the reproach reſulting from their declaration of war againſt Antipater, and likewiſe to obtain his good graces, condemned them to die by a decree which Demades prepared. The reader has not forgot, that theſe are the ſame people who had

[y] Plut. in Phoc p. 753, 754.

lately recalled Demoſthenes by a decree ſo much for his honour, and had received him in triumph.

The ſame Demades procured a ſecond decree for ſending ambaſſadors to Antipater, who was then at Thebes, and that they ſhould be inveſted with full powers to negociate a treaty of peace with him. Phocion himſelf was at their head; and the conqueror declared, that he expected the Athenians ſhould entirely ſubmit the terms to his regulation, in the manner as he himſelf had acted, when he was beſieged in the city of Lamia, and had conformed to the capitulation impoſed upon him by Leoſthenes their general.

Phocion returned to acquaint the Athenians with this anſwer, and they were compelled to acquieſce in the conditions, as rigid as they might appear. He then came back to Thebes with the reſt of the ambaſſadors, with whom Xenocrates had been aſſociated, in hopes that the appearance alone of ſo celebrated a philoſopher would inſpire Antipater with reſpect, and induce him to pay homage to his virtue. But ſurely they muſt have been little acquainted with the heart of man, and particularly with the violent and inhuman diſpoſition of Antipater, to be capable of flattering themſelves, that an enemy, with whom they had been engaged in an open war, would renounce his advantage through any inducement of reſpect for the virtue of a ſingle man, or in conſequence of an harangue uttered by a philoſopher, who had declared againſt him. Antipater would not even condeſcend to caſt his eyes upon him; and when he was preparing to enter upon the conference, for he was commiſſioned to be the ſpeaker on this occaſion, he interrupted him in a very abrupt manner; and perceiving that he continued his diſcourſe, commanded him to be ſilent. But he did not treat Phocion in the ſame manner; for after he had attended to his diſcourſe, he replied, "That he was diſpoſed to contract a friendſhip and alliance "with the Athenians on the following conditions: they "ſhould deliver up Demoſthenes and Hyperides to him; "the government ſhould be reſtored to its ancient plan, by "which all employments in the ſtate were to be conferred "upon the rich; that they ſhould receive a garriſon in the "port of Munychia; that they ſhould defray all the expences "of the war, and alſo a large ſum, the amount of which "ſhould be ſettled." Thus, according to Diodorus, none but thoſe whoſe yearly income exceeded two thouſand

drachmas, were to be admitted into any ſhare of the government for the future, or to have any right to vote. Antipater intended to make himſelf abſolute maſter of Athens by this regulation, being very ſenſible, that the rich men who enjoyed public employments, and had large revenues, would become his dependents much more effectually than a poor and deſpicable populace who had nothing to loſe, and would be only guided by their own caprice.

All the ambaſſadors but Xenocrates were well contented with theſe conditions, which they thought were very moderate, conſidering their preſent ſituation; but that philoſopher judged otherwiſe. "They are very moderate for ſlaves," ſaid he, "but extremely ſevere for free men."

The Athenians were therefore compelled to receive into Munychia a Macedonian garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, a man of probity, and by ſome of Phocion's particular friends. The troops took poſſeſſion of the place during the feſtival of the Great Myſteries, and the very day on which it was uſual to carry the god Iacchus in proceſſion from the city to Eleuſina. This was a melancholy conjuncture for the Athenians, and affected them with the moſt ſenſible affliction. "Alas! (ſaid "they, when they compared the paſt times with thoſe they "then ſaw) the gods, amidſt our greateſt adverſities, would "formerly manifeſt themſelves in our favour during this "ſacred ceremonial, by myſtic viſions and audible voices, "to the great aſtoniſhment of our enemies, who were terrified "by them. But now, when we are even celebrating the "ſame ſolemnities, they caſt an unpitying eye on the greateſt "calamities that can happen to Greece: They behold the "moſt ſacred of all days in the year, and that which is moſt "agreeable to us, polluted and diſtinguiſhed by the moſt "dreadful of calamities, which will even tranſmit its name "to this ſacred time through all ſucceeding generations."

The garriſon, commanded by Menyllus, did not offer the leaſt injury to any of the inhabitants, but there were more than twelve thouſand of them excluded from employments in the ſtate, by one of the ſtipulations of the treaty, in conſequence of their poverty. Some of theſe unfortunate perſons continued in Athens, and lingered out a wretched life, amidſt the contemptuous treatment they had juſtly drawn upon themſelves; for the generality of them were ſeditious

and mercenary in their diſpoſitions, had neither virtue nor juſtice, but flattered themſelves with a falſe idea of liberty, which they were incapable of uſing aright, and had no knowledge of either its bounds, duties, or end. The other poor citizens departed from the city, in order to avoid that opprobrious condition, and retired into Thrace, where Antipater aſſigned them a city and lands for their habitation.

[z] Demetrius Phalerius was obliged to have recourſe to flight, and retired to Nicanor; but Caſſander, the ſon of Antipater, repoſed much confidence in him, and made him governor of Munychia after the death of his father, as will appear immediately. This Demetrius had been not only the diſciple, but the intimate friend of the celebrated Theophraſtus; and, under the conduct of ſo learned a maſter, had perfected his natural genius for eloquence, and rendered himſelf expert in philoſophy, politics, and hiſtory. [a] He was in great eſteem at Athens, and began to enter upon the adminiſtration of affairs, when Harpalus arrived there, after he had declared againſt Alexander. He was obliged to quit that city at the time we have mentioned, and was ſoon after condemned there, though abſent, under a vain pretext of irreligion.

[b] The whole weight of Antipater's diſpleaſure fell chiefly upon Demoſthenes, Hyperides, and ſome other Athenians, who had been their adherents; and when he was informed that they had eluded his vengeance by flight, he diſpatched a body of men with orders to ſeiſe them, and placed one Archias at their head, who had formerly played in tragedies. This man having found at Ægina, the orator Hyperides, Ariſtonicus of Marathon, and Hymereus the brother of Demetrius Phalereus, who had all three taken ſanctuary in the temple of Ajax; he dragged them from their aſylum, and ſent them to Antipater, who was then at Cleones, where he condemned them to die. Some authors have even declared, that he cauſed the tongue of Hyperides to be cut out.

The ſame Archias having received intelligence, that Demoſthenes, who had retired into the iſland of Calauria, was become a ſupplicant in the temple of Neptune, he ſailed thither in a ſmall veſſel, and landed with ſome Thracian

[z] Athen. l. xii. p. 542. [a] Diog. in Laert. in Demetr. [b] Plut. in Demoſt. p. 859, 860.

ſoldiers: after which he ſpared no pains to perſuade Demoſthenes to accompany him to Antipater, aſſuring him, that he ſhould receive no injury. Demoſthenes was too well acquainted with mankind to rely on his promiſe; and was ſenſible that venal ſouls, who have hired themſelves into the ſervice of iniquity, thoſe infamous miniſters in the execution of orders equally cruel and unjuſt, have as little regard to ſincerity and truth as their maſters. To prevent therefore his falling into the hands of a tyrant, who would have ſatiated his fury upon him, he ſwallowed poiſon, which he always carried about him, and which ſoon produced its effect. When he found his ſtrength declining, he advanced a few ſteps, by the aid of ſome domeſtics who ſupported him, and fell down dead at the foot of the altar.

The Athenians, ſoon after this event, erected a ſtatue of braſs to his memory, as a teſtimonial of their gratitude and eſteem, and made a decree, that the eldeſt branch of his family ſhould be brought up in the Prytaneum, at the public expence, from generation to generation: and at the foot of the ſtatue they engraved this inſcription, which was couched in two Elegiac verſes: "Demoſthenes, if thy power had been equal to thy wiſdom, the Macedonian Mars would never have triumphed over Greece." What regard is to be entertained for the judgment of a people, who are capable of being hurried into ſuch oppoſite extremes, and who one day paſſed ſentence of death on a citizen, and loaded him with honours and applauſe the next?

What I have already ſaid of Demoſthenes, on ſeveral occaſions, makes it unneceſſary to enlarge upon his character in this place. He was not only a great orator but an accompliſhed ſtateſman. His views were noble and exalted; his zeal was not to be intimidated by any conjunctures, wherein the honour and intereſt of his country were concerned; he firmly retained an irreconcilable averſion to all meaſures which had any reſemblance to tyranny, and his love for liberty was ſuch as may be imagined in a republican, as implacable an enemy to all ſervitude and dependency as ever lived. A wonderful ſagacity of mind enabled him to penetrate into future events, and preſented them to his view with as much perſpicuity, though remote, as if they had been actually preſent. He ſeemed as much acquainted with all

the deſigns of Philip, as if he had been admitted into a participation of his counſels; and if the Athenians had followed his counſels, that prince would not have attained that height of power, which proved deſtructive to Greece, as Demoſthenes had frequently foretold.

[c] He was perfectly acquainted with the diſpoſition of Philip, and was very far from praiſing him, like the generality of orators. Two colleagues, with whom he was aſſociated in an embaſſy to that great prince, were continually praiſing the king of Macedonia, at their return, and ſaying, that he was a very eloquent and amiable prince, and a moſt extraordinary drinker. "What ſtrange commendations are theſe?" replied Demoſthenes. "The firſt is the accompliſhment of a rhetorician; the ſecond of a woman; and the third of a ſponge; but none of them the praiſe of a king."

With relation to eloquence, nothing can be added to what Quintilian has obſerved, in the parallel he has drawn between Demoſthenes and Cicero. After he has ſhown, that the great and eſſential qualities of an orator are common to them both, he marks out the particular difference obſervable between them with reſpect to ſtyle and elocution. "The "one,* (ſays he,) is more preciſe, the other more luxuriant. "The one crowds all his forces into a ſmaller compaſs when "he attacks his adverſary, the other chooſes a larger field for "the aſſault. The one always endeavours in a manner to "transfix him with the vivacity of his ſtyle, the other fre-"quently overwhelms him with the weight of his diſcourſe. "Nothing can be retrenched from the one, and nothing can "be added to the other. In Demoſthenes we diſcover more "labour and ſtudy, in Cicero more nature and genius."

[d] I have elſewhere obſerved another difference between theſe two great orators, which I beg leave to inſert in this place. That which characteriſes Demoſthenes more than any other circumſtance, and in which he has never been imitated, is ſuch an abſolute oblivion of himſelf, and ſo ſcrupulous and

[c] Plut. in Demoſt. p. 853.

[d] In the diſcourſe on the eloquence of the bar.

* *In eloquendo eſt aliqua diverſitas. Denſior ille, hic copioſior. Ille concludit aſtrictiùs, hic latiùs pugnat. Ille acumine ſemper, hic frequenter et pondere. Illi nihil detrahi poteſt, huic nihil adjici. Curæ plus in illo, in hoc naturæ.* QUINTIL. l. x. c. 1.

conſtant a ſolicitude to ſuppreſs all oſtentation of wit: in a word, ſuch a perpetual care to confine the attention of the auditor to the cauſe, and not to the orator, that he never ſuffers any one turn of thought or expreſſion to eſcape him, from no other view than merely to pleaſe and ſhine. This reſerve and moderation in ſo amiable a genius as Demoſthenes, and in matters ſo ſuſceptible of grace and eloquence, adds perfection to his merit, and renders him ſuperior to all praiſes.

Cicero was ſenſible of all the eſtimation due to the eloquence of Demoſthenes, and experienced all its force and beauty. But as he was perſuaded, that an orator, when he is engaged in any points that are not ſtrictly eſſential, ought to form his ſtyle by the taſte of his audience; and did not believe, that the genius of his times was conſiſtent with ſuch a rigid exactneſs: he therefore judged it neceſſary to accommodate himſelf in ſome meaſure to the ears and delicacy of his auditors, who required more grace and elegance in his diſcourſe. For which reaſon he had ſome regard to the agreeable, but at the ſame time, never loſt ſight of any important point in the cauſe he pleaded. He even thought that this qualified him for promoting the intereſt of his country, and was not miſtaken, as to pleaſe, is one of the moſt certain means of perſuading: but at the ſame time he laboured for his own reputation, and never forgot himſelf.

The death of Demoſthenes and Hyperides cauſed the Athenians to regret the reigns of Philip and Alexander, and recalled to their remembrance the magnanimity, generoſity, and clemency, which thoſe two princes retained, even amidſt the emotions of their diſpleaſure; and how inclinable they had always been to pardon offences, and treat their enemies with humanity. Whereas Antipater, under the maſk of a private man, in a bad cloak, with all the appearances of a plain and frugal life, and without affecting any title of authority, diſcovered himſelf to be a rigid and imperious maſter.

Antipater was, however, prevailed upon, by the prayers of Phocion, to recall ſeveral perſons from baniſhment, notwithſtanding all the ſeverity of his diſpoſition; and there is reaſon to believe, that Demetrius was one of this number. At leaſt, it is certain that he had a conſiderable ſhare in the adminiſtration of the republic from that time. As for thoſe whoſe recall to Athens, Phocion was unable to obtain, he

procured for them more commodious ſituations, that were not ſo remote as their former ſettlements; and took his meaſures ſo effectually, that they were not baniſhed, according to the firſt ſentence, beyond the Ceraunian mountains and the promontory of Tenarus; by which means they did not live ſequeſtered from the pleaſures of Greece, but obtained a ſettlement in Peloponneſus. Who can help admiring, on the one hand, the amiable and generous diſpoſition of Phocion, who employed his credit with Antipater, in order to procure a ſet of unfortunate perſons ſome alleviation of their calamities; and, on the other hand, a kind of humanity in a prince, who was not very deſirous of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by that quality, but was ſenſible, however, that it would be extremely rigid in him to add new mortifications to the inconveniences of baniſhment.

Antipater in other reſpects exerciſed his government with great juſtice and moderation, over thoſe who continued in Athens; he beſtowed the principal poſts and employments on ſuch perſons, as he imagined were the moſt virtuous and honeſt men: and contented himſelf with removing from all authority, ſuch as he thought were moſt likely to excite troubles. He was ſenſible, that this people could neither ſupport a ſtate of abſolute ſervitude, nor the enjoyment of entire liberty; for which reaſon he thought it neceſſary to take from the one, whatever was too rigid; and from the other, all that it had of exceſſive and licentious.

The conqueror, after ſo glorious a campaign, ſet out for Macedonia, to celebrate the nuptials of his daughter Phila with Craterus, and the ſolemnity was performed with all imaginable grandeur. Phila was one of the moſt accompliſhed princeſſes of her age, and her beauty was the leaſt part of her merit. The luſtre of her charms was heightened by the ſweetneſs and modeſty that ſoftened her aſpect, and by an air of complacency, and a natural diſpoſition to oblige, which won the hearts of all who beheld her. Theſe engaging qualities were rendered ſtill more amiable by the brightneſs of a ſuperior genius, and a prudence uncommon in her ſex, which made her capable of the greateſt affairs. It is even ſaid, that as young as ſhe then was, her father Antipater, who was one of the moſt able politicians of his age, never engaged in any affair of importance without conſulting her.

This princeſs never made uſe of the influence ſhe had over her two huſbands (for after the death of Craterus ſhe eſpouſed Demetrius the ſon of Antigonus) but to procure ſome favour for the officers, their daughters, or ſiſters. If they were poor, ſhe furniſhed them with portions for their marriage: and if they were ſo unhappy as to be calumniated, ſhe herſelf was very active in their juſtification. So generous a liberality gave her an abſolute power among the troops. All cabals were diſſolved by her preſence, and all revolts gave way, and were appeaſed by her conduct.

SECT. III. *Proceſſion at the funeral of Alexander. His body is conveyed to Alexandria. Eumenes is put into poſſeſſion of Cappadocia by Perdiccas. Ptolemy, Craterus, Antipater, and Antigonus, confederate againſt each other. The death of Craterus. The unfortunate expedition of Perdiccas into Egypt. He is ſlain there.*

[e] MUCH about this time the * funeral obſequies of Alexander were performed. Aridæus having been deputed by all the governors and grandees of the kingdom, to take upon himſelf the care of that ſolemnity, had employed two years in preparing every thing that could poſſibly render it the moſt pompous and auguſt funeral that had ever been ſeen. When all things were ready for the celebration of this mournful, but ſuperb ceremonial, orders were given for the proceſſion to begin. This was preceded by a great number of pioneers and other workmen, whoſe office was to make all the ways practicable, through which the proceſſion was to paſs. A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321.

As ſoon as theſe were levelled, that magnificent chariot, the invention and deſign of which raiſed as much admiration as the immenſe riches that glittered all over it, ſet out from Babylon. The body of the chariot reſted upon two axle-trees, that were inſerted into four wheels, made after the Perſian manner; the naves and ſpokes of which were covered

[e] Diod. l. xviii. p. 608—610.

* I could have wiſhed it had been in my power to have explained ſeveral paſſages of this deſcription in a more clear and intelligible manner than I have done: but that was not poſſible for me to effect, though I had recourſe to perſons of greater capacity than myſelf.

with gold, and the rounds plated over with iron. The extremities of the axle-trees were made of gold, repreſenting the muſcles of lions biting a dart. The chariot had four draught beams or poles, to each of which were harneſſed four ſets of mules, each ſet conſiſting of four of thoſe animals; ſo that this chariot was drawn by ſixty-four mules. The ſtrongeſt of thoſe creatures, and the largeſt, were choſen on this occaſion. They were adorned with crowns of gold, and collars enriched with precious ſtones and golden bells.

On this chariot was erected a pavilion of entire gold, twelve feet wide, and eighteen in length, ſupported by columns of the Ionic order, embelliſhed with the leaves of acanthus. The inſide was adorned with a blaze of jewels, diſpoſed in the form of ſhells. The circumference was beautified with a fringe of golden net-work; the threads that compoſed the texture were an inch in thickneſs, and to thoſe were faſtened large bells, whoſe ſound was heard to a great diſtance.

The external decorations were diſpoſed into four relievoes.

The firſt repreſented Alexander ſeated in a military chariot, with a ſplendid ſceptre in his hand, and ſurrounded on one ſide with a troop of Macedonians in arms; and on the other, with an equal number of Perſians armed in their manner. Theſe were preceded by the King's equerries.

In the ſecond were ſeen elephants completely harneſſed, with a band of Indians ſeated on the fore-part of their bodies; and on their hinder, another band of Macedonians, armed as in the day of battle.

The third exhibited to the view ſeveral ſquadrons of horſe ranged in military array.

The fourth repreſented ſhips preparing for a battle.

At the entrance into the pavilion were golden lions, that ſeemed to guard the paſſage.

The four corners were adorned with ſtatues of gold, repreſenting victories, with trophies of arms in their hands.

Under the pavilion was placed a throne of gold of a ſquare form, adorned with the heads of animals,* whoſe necks were encompaſſed with golden circles a foot and a half in breadth;

* The Greek word τραχελαφος imports a kind of hart, from whoſe chin a beard hangs down like that of goats.

to theſe were hung crowns, that glittered with the livelieſt colours, and ſuch as were carried in proceſſion at the celebration of ſacred ſolemnities.

At the foot of the throne was placed the coffin of Alexander, formed of beaten gold, and half filled with aromatic ſpices and perfumes, as well to exhale an agreeable odour, as for the preſervation of the corpſe. A pall of purple wrought with gold covered the coffin.

Between this and the throne, the arms of that monarch were diſpoſed in the manner he wore them when living.

The outſide of the pavilion was likewiſe covered with purple flowered with gold. The top ended in a very large crown of the ſame metal, which ſeemed to be a compoſition of olive-branches. The rays of the ſun which darted on this diadem, in conjunction with the motion of the chariot, cauſed it to emit a kind of rays like thoſe of lightening.

It may eaſily be imagined, that, in ſo long a proceſſion, the motion of a chariot, laden like this, would be liable to great inconveniences. In order, therefore, that the pavilion, with all its appendages, might, when the chariot moved in any uneven ways, conſtantly continue in the ſame ſituation, notwithſtanding the inequality of the ground, and the ſhocks that would frequently be unavoidable, a cylinder was raiſed from the middle of each axle-tree, to ſupport the pavilion; by which expedient the whole machine was preſerved ſteady.

The chariot was followed by the royal guards, all in arms, and magnificently arrayed.

The multitude of ſpectators of this ſolemnity is hardly credible; but they were drawn together as well by their veneration for the memory of Alexander, as by the magnificence of this funeral pomp, which had never been equalled in the world.

There was a current prediction, that the place where Alexander ſhould be interred, would be rendered the moſt happy and flouriſhing part of the whole earth. The governors conteſted with each other, for the diſpoſal of a body that was to be attended with ſuch a glorious prerogative. The affection Perdiccas entertained for his country, made him deſirous that the corpſe ſhould be conveyed to Ægæ in Macedonia, where the remains of its kings were uſually depoſited. Other places were likewiſe propoſed, but the preference was given

to Egypt. Ptolemy, who had ſuch extraordinary and recent obligations to the King of Macedonia, was determined to ſignaliſe his gratitude on this occaſion. He accordingly ſet out with a numerous guard of his beſt troops, in order to meet the proceſſion, and advanced as far as Syria. When he had joined the attendants on the funeral, he prevented them from interring the corpſe in the temple of Jupiter-Ammon, as they had propoſed. It was, therefore, depoſited firſt in the city of Memphis, and from thence was conveyed to Alexandria. Ptolemy raiſed a magnificent temple to the memory of this monarch, and rendered him all the honours which were uſually paid to demi-gods and heroes by pagan antiquity.

[f] Freinſhemius, in his ſupplement to Livy, relates, after Leo * the African, that the tomb of Alexander the Great was ſtill to be ſeen in his time, and that it was reverenced by the Mahomedans, as the monument, not only of an illuſtrious king, but of a great prophet.

[g] Cappadocia and Paphlagonia, which border on the Pontick ſea, were allotted to Eumenes, in conſequence of the partition of the ſeveral governments of Alexander's empire; and it was expreſsly ſtipulated by the treaty, that Leonatus and Antigonus ſhould march with a great body of troops to eſtabliſh Eumenes in the government of thoſe dominions, and diſpoſſeſs King Ariarathes of the ſovereignty. This general reſolution of ſending troops and experienced commanders into the ſeveral provinces of the empire, was formed with great judgment; and the intention of it was, that all thoſe conquered territories ſhould continue under the dominion of the Macedonians, and that the inhabitants, being no longer governed by their own ſovereigns, ſhould have no future inclination to recover their former liberty, nor be in a condition to ſet each other the example of throwing off the new yoke of the Greeks.

But neither Leonatus nor Antigonus were very ſolicitous to execute this article of the treaty; and, as they were entirely attentive to their own particular intereſt and aggrandiſement, they took other meaſures. Eumenes, ſeeing himſelf thus abandoned by thoſe who ought to have eſtabliſhed him

[f] Lib. cxxxiii. [g] Plut. in Eumen. p. 584. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

* This author lived in the 15th century.

in his government, ſet out with all his equipage, which conſiſted of three hundred horſe and two hundred of his domeſtics well armed; with all his riches, which amounted to about five thouſand talents of gold; and retired to Perdiccas, who gave him a favourable reception. As he was much eſteemed by that commander, he was admitted into a participation of all his councils. Eumenes was indeed a man of great ſolidity and reſolution, and the moſt able of all the captains of Alexander.

Within a ſhort time after this event, he was conducted into Cappadocia by a great army which Perdiccas thought fit to command in perſon. Ariarathes had made the neceſſary preparations for a vigorous defence, and had raiſed twenty thouſand foot and a great body of horſe: but he was defeated and taken priſoner by Perdiccas, who deſtroyed his whole family, and inveſted Eumenes with the government of his dominions. He intended, by this inſtance of ſeverity, to intimidate the people, and extinguiſh all ſeditions. And this conduct was very judicious, and abſolutely neceſſary in the conjuncture of a new government, when the ſtate is in a general ferment, and all things are uſually diſpoſed for commotions. Perdiccas, after this tranſaction, advanced with his troops to chaſtiſe Iſaura and Laranda, cities of Piſidia, which had maſſacred their governors, and revolted from the Macedonians. The laſt of theſe cities was deſtroyed in a very ſurpriſing manner: for the inhabitants finding themſelves in no condition to defend it, and deſpairing of any quarter from the conqueror, ſhut themſelves up in their houſes, with their wives, children, and parents, and all their gold and ſilver, ſet fire to their ſeveral habitations, and, after they had fought with the fury of lions, threw themſelves into the flames. The city was abandoned to plunder; and the ſoldiers, after they had extinguiſhed the fire, found a very great booty, for the place was filled with riches.

[h] Perdiccas, after this expedition, marched into Cilicia, where he paſſed the winter ſeaſon. During his reſidence in that country, he formed a reſolution to divorce Nicea, the daughter of Antipater, whom he had eſpouſed at a time when he thought that marriage ſubſervient to his intereſt. But A. M. 3683, Ant. J. C. 321.

[h] Diod. p. 606—609.

when the regency of the empire had given him a ſuperior credit, and given birth to more exalted hopes, his thoughts took a different turn, and he was deſirous of eſpouſing Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great. She had been married to Alexander King of Epirus; and, having loſt her huſband in the wars of Italy, ſhe had continued in a ſtate of widowhood, and was then at Sardis in Lydia. Perdiccas diſpatched Eumenes thither, to propoſe his marriage to that princeſs, and employ his endeavours to render it agreeable to her. This alliance with a lady who was the ſiſter of Alexander by the ſame father and mother, and exceedingly beloved by the Macedonians, opened him a way to the empire through the favour of that people, which he might naturally expect from his marriage with Cleopatra.

Antigonus penetrated into his deſign, and evidently foreſaw that his own deſtruction was to be the foundation of the intended ſucceſs. He, therefore, paſſed into Greece with the greateſt expedition, in order to find Antipater and Craterus, who were then engaged in a war with the Ætolians, and diſcloſed to them the whole plan that Perdiccas had formed. Upon this intelligence they immediately came to an accommodation with the Ætolians, and advanced towards the Helleſpont, to obſerve the motions of the new enemy; and, in order to ſtrengthen their own party, they engaged Ptolemy, governor of Egypt, in their intereſt.

Craterus, one of the greateſt of Alexander's captains, had the largeſt ſhare of the affection and eſteem of the Macedonians. Alexander, a little before his death, had ordered him to conduct into Macedonia the ten thouſand veteran troops he intended to ſend thither, on account of their age, wounds, or other infirmities, which rendered them incapable of the ſervice. The King had likewiſe conferred upon him at the ſame time the government of Macedonia in the room of Antipater, whom he recalled to Babylon. Theſe provinces having been conſigned to Craterus and Antipater after the death of Alexander, they governed them in concert, and Craterus always conducted himſelf like a good and faithful aſſociate; eſpecially in the operations of this war, in which they were unavoidably engaged by the diſcovery of the deſigns Perdiccas was forming.

Perdiccas ſent Eumenes back to his province, not only

to regulate the ſtate of affairs in that country, but more particularly to keep a watchful eye on the motions of Neoptolemus his next neighbour, who was governor of Armenia, and whoſe conduct was ſuſpected by Perdiccas, but not without ſufficient reaſon, as will be evident in the ſequel.

[i] This Neoptolemus was a man remarkable for his ſtupid pride, and the inſupportable arrogance he had contracted, from the vain hopes with which he fed his imagination. Eumenes endeavoured to reduce him to reaſon by gentle meaſures; and when he ſaw that the troops of the Macedonian phalanx, who were commanded by Neoptolemus, were grown very inſolent and audacious, he made it his care to aſſemble a body of horſe ſtrong enough to oppoſe their deſigns, and keep them within the bounds of reſpect and obedience. With this view he granted all ſorts of immunities and exemptions from impoſts to thoſe of the inhabitants who were in a condition to appear on horſeback. He likewiſe purchaſed a great number of horſes, and beſtowed them on thoſe of his court, in whom he confided the moſt; and inflamed their courage by the honours and rewards he conferred upon them. He diſciplined and habituated them to labour and fatigue by reviews, exerciſes, and continual movements. Every body was ſurpriſed to ſee him aſſemble, in ſo ſhort a time, a body of ſix thouſand horſe, capable of good ſervice in the field.

Perdiccas, having cauſed all his troops to file off the next ſpring towards Cappadocia, held a council with his friends on the operations of the intended war. The ſubject of their deliberations was, whether they ſhould march firſt into Macedonia againſt Antipater and Craterus, or into Egypt againſt Ptolemy. The majority of voices declared in favour of the laſt; and it was concluded, at the ſame time that Eumenes, with part of the army, ſhould guard the Aſiatick provinces againſt Antipater and Craterus: and, in order to engage him more effectually to eſpouſe the common cauſe, Perdiccas added the provinces of Caria, Lycia, and Phrygia, to his government. He likewiſe declared him generaliſſimo of all the troops in Cappadocia and Armenia, and ordered all the governors to

[i] Plut. in Eumen. p. 585.

obey him. Perdiccas after this, advanced towards Egypt through Damaſcene and Paleſtine. He alſo took the two minor kings with him in this expedition, in order to cover his deſigns with the royal authority.

[k] Eumenes ſpared no pains to have a good army on foot, in order to oppoſe Antipater and Craterus, who had already paſſed the Helleſpont, and were marching againſt him. They left nothing unattempted to diſengage him from the party he had eſpouſed, and promiſed him the addition of new provinces to thoſe he already poſſeſſed: but he was too ſteady * to be ſhaken by thoſe offers, in breach of his engagements to Perdiccas. They ſucceeded better with Alcetas and Neoptolemus, for they engaged the former to obſerve a neutrality, though the brother of Perdiccas, and the other declared in their favour. Eumenes attacked and defeated the latter at a narrow paſs, and even took all his baggage. This victory was owing to his cavalry, whom he had formed with ſo much care. Neoptolemus ſaved himſelf with three hundred horſe, and joined Antipater and Craterus; but the reſt of his troops went over to Eumenes.

Antipater entered Cilicia with an intention to advance into Egypt, in order to aſſiſt Ptolemy, if his affairs ſhould require his aid; and he detached Craterus and Neoptolemus with the reſt of the army againſt Eumenes, who was then in Cappadocia. A great battle was fought there, the ſucceſs of which is entirely to be aſcribed to the wiſe and vigilant precaution of Eumenes, which Plutarch juſtly conſiders as the maſter-piece of a great commander. The reputation of Craterus was very great, and the generality of the Macedonians were deſirous of him for their leader after the death of Alexander, remembering that his affection for them, and his deſire to ſupport their intereſt, had cauſed him to incur the diſpleaſure of that prince. Neoptolemus had flattered him, that as ſoon as he ſhould appear in the field, all the Macedonians of the oppoſite party would liſt themſelves under his banners, and Eumenes himſelf was very apprehenſive of that event. But in order to avoid this misfortune, which would have occa-

[k] Plut. in Eumen. p. 585—587. Diod. l. xviii. p. 610—613.

* *Quem (Perdiccam) etſi infirmum videbat, quòd unus omnibus reſiſtere cogebatur, amicum non deſeruit, neque ſalutis quàm fidei fuit cupidior.* Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. iii.

ſioned his inevitable ruin, he cauſed the avenues and narrow paſſes to be ſo carefully guarded, that his army were entirely ignorant of the enemy againſt whom he was leading them, having cauſed a report to be ſpread, that it was only Neoptolemus, who was preparing to attack him a ſecond time. In the diſpoſitions he made for the battle, he was careful not to oppoſe any Macedonian againſt Craterus; and iſſued an order, with very ſevere penalties, that no herald from the enemy ſhould be received on any account whatever.

The firſt charge was very rude; the lances were ſoon ſhivered on both ſides, and the two armies attacked ſword in hand. Craterus acted nothing to the diſhonour of Alexander on this laſt day of his life, for he killed ſeveral of the enemies with his own hand, and frequently bore down all who oppoſed him; till, at laſt, a Thracian wounded him in the flank, when he fell from his horſe. All the enemy's cavalry rode over him without knowing who he was, and did not diſcover him till he was breathing his laſt.

As to the other wing, Neoptolemus and Eumenes, who perſonally hated each other, having met in the battle, and their horſes charging with a violent ſhock, they ſeiſed each other; and their horſes ſpringing from under them, they both fell on the earth, where they ſtruggled like to implacable wreſtlers, and fought for a conſiderable time with the utmoſt fury and rage, till at laſt Neoptolemus received a mortal wound, and immediately expired.

Eumenes then remounted his horſe, and puſhed his left wing to that part of the field, where he believed the enemy's troops ſtill continued unbroken. There, when he was informed that Craterus was killed, he ſpurred his horſe to the place where he lay, and found him expiring. When he beheld this melancholy ſpectacle, he could not refuſe his tears to the death of an ancient friend whom he had always eſteemed; and he cauſed the laſt honours to be paid him with all poſſible magnificence. He likewiſe ordered his bones to be conveyed to Macedonia, in order to be given to his wife and children. Eumenes gained this ſecond victory ten days after the firſt.

[1] In the mean time Perdiccas had advanced into Egypt, and

[1] Diod. l. xviii. p. 613—616. Plut. in Eumen. p. 587. Cor. Nep. c. v.

began the war with Ptolemy, though with very different ſucceſs. Ptolemy, from the time he was conſtituted governor of that country, had conducted himſelf with ſo much juſtice and humanity, that he had entirely gained the hearts of all the Egyptians. An infinite number of people, charmed with the lenity of ſo wiſe an adminiſtration, came thither from Greece and other parts to enter into his ſervice. This additional advantage rendered him extremely powerful; and even the army of Perdiccas had ſo much eſteem for Ptolemy, that they marched with reluctance againſt him, and great numbers of them deſerted daily to his troops. All theſe circumſtances were fatal to the views of Perdiccas, and he loſt his own life in that country. Having unfortunately taken a reſolution to make his army paſs an arm of the Nile, which formed an iſland near Memphis, in paſſing he loſt two thouſand men, half of whom were drowned, and the remainder devoured by crocodiles. The Macedonians were exaſperated to ſuch a degree of fury, when they ſaw themſelves expoſed to ſuch unneceſſary dangers, that they mutinied againſt him; in conſequence of which, he was abandoned by a hundred of his principal officers, of whom Pithon was the moſt conſiderable, and was aſſaſſinated in his tent with moſt of his intimate friends.

Two days after this event, the army received intelligence of the victory obtained by Eumenes; and had this account come two days ſooner, it would certainly have prevented the mutiny, and conſequently the revolution that ſoon ſucceeded it, which proved ſo favourable to Ptolemy and Antipater, and all their adherents.

SECT. IV. *The regency is transferred to Antipater. Eumenes beſieged by Antigonus in Nora. Jeruſalem beſieged and taken by Ptolemy. Demades put to death by Caſſander. Antipater on his death-bed nominates Polyſperchon for his ſucceſſor in the regency. The latter recals Olympias. Antigonus becomes very powerful.*

[m]PTOLEMY paſſed the Nile the day after the death of Perdiccas, and entered the Macedonian camp; where he juſtified his own conduct ſo effectually, that all the troops

[m] Diod. l. xviii. p. 616—619.

declared in his favour. When the death of Craterus was known, he made ſuch an artful improvement of their affliction and reſentment, that he induced them to paſs a decree, whereby Eumenes, and fifty other perſons of the ſame party, were declared enemies to the Macedonian ſtate; and this decree authoriſed Antipater and Antigonus to carry on a war againſt them. But when this prince perceived the troops had a general inclination to offer him the regency of the two kings, which became vacant by the death of Perdiccas, he had the precaution to decline that office, becauſe he was very ſenſible that the royal pupils had a title without a reality; that they would never be capable of ſuſtaining the weight of that vaſt empire, nor be in a condition to re-unite, under their authority, ſo many governments accuſtomed to independency; that there was an inevitable tendency to diſmember the whole, as well from the inclinations and intereſt of the officers, as the ſituation of affairs; that all his acquiſitions in the interim would redound to the advantage of his pupils; that while he appeared to poſſeſs the firſt rank, he ſhould in reality enjoy nothing fixed and ſolid, or that could any way be conſidered as his own property; that, upon the expiration of the regency, he ſhould be left without any government or real eſtabliſhment, and that he ſhould neither be maſter of an army to ſupport him, nor of any retreat for his preſervation: Whereas all his colleagues would enjoy the richeſt provinces in perfect tranquillity, and he be the only one who had not derived any advantages from the common conqueſts. Theſe conſiderations induced him to prefer the poſt he already enjoyed to the new title that was offered him, as the former was leſs hazardous, and rendered him leſs obnoxious to envy: he therefore cauſed the choice to fall on Pithon and Aridæus.

The firſt of theſe perſons had commanded with diſtinction in all the wars of Alexander, and had embraced the party of Perdiccas, till he was a witneſs of his imprudent conduct in paſſing the Nile, which induced him to quit his ſervice, and go over to Ptolemy.

With reſpect to Aridæus, hiſtory has taken no notice of him before the death of Alexander, when the funeral ſolemnities of that prince were committed to his care; and we have already ſeen in what manner he acquitted himſelf of that

melancholy but honourable commiſſion, after he had employed two years in the preparations for it.

The honour of this guardianſhip was of no long continuance to them. Eurydice, the conſort of king Aridæus, whom we ſhall diſtinguiſh for the future by the name of Philip, being fond of interfering in all affairs, and being ſupported in her pretenſions by the Macedonians; the two regents were ſo diſſatisfied with their employment, that they voluntarily reſigned it, after they had ſent the army back to Triparadis in Syria; and it was then conferred upon Antipater.

As ſoon as he was inveſted with his authority, he made a new partition of the provinces of the empire, in which he excluded all thoſe who had eſpouſed the intereſt of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and re-eſtabliſhed every perſon of the other party, who had been diſpoſſeſſed. In this new diviſion of the empire, Seleucus, who had great authority from the command of the cavalry, as we have already intimated, had the government of Babylon, and became afterwards the moſt powerful of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander. Pithon had the government of Media; but Atropates, who at that time enjoyed the government of that province, ſupported himſelf in one part of the country, and aſſumed the regal dignity, without acknowledging the authority of the Macedonians; and this tract of Media was afterwards called Media Atropatena. Antipater, after this regulation of affairs, ſent Antigonus againſt Eumenes, and then returned into Macedonia; but left his ſon Caſſander behind him, in quality of general of the cavalry, and with orders to be near the perſon of Antigonus, that he might the better be informed of his deſigns.

A. M. 3683. Ant. J. C. 321. [n] Jaddus, the high-prieſt of the Jews, died this year, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Onias, whoſe pontificate continued for the ſpace of twenty-one years. I make this remark, becauſe the hiſtory of the Jews will, in the ſequel of this work, be very much intermixed with that of Alexander's ſucceſſors.

A. M. 3684. Ant. J. C. 320. [o] Antigonus appeared early in the field againſt Eumenes; and a battle was fought at Orcynium in Cappadocia, wherein Eumenes was defeated, and loſt eight thouſand men by the treachery of Apollonides, one of the principal officers of his

[n] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xi. c. 8. [o] Diod. l. xviii. p. 618, 619.

cavalry; who was corrupted by Antigonus, and marched over to the enemy in the midſt of the battle. [p] The traitor was ſoon puniſhed for his perfidy, for Eumenes took him, and cauſed him to be hanged upon the ſpot.

[q] A conjuncture which happened ſoon after this defeat, would have enabled Eumenes to ſeiſe the baggage of Antigonus and all his riches, with a great number of priſoners; and his little troop already caſt an eager eye on ſo conſiderable a booty. But whether his apprehenſions that ſo rich a prey would enervate the hearts of his ſoldiers, who were then conſtrained to wander from place to place; or whether his regard to Antigonus, with whom he had formerly contracted a particular friendſhip, prevented him from improving this opportunity; it is certain, that he ſent a letter to that commander, to inform him of the danger that threatened him; and when he afterwards made a feint to attack the baggage, it was all removed to a place of better ſecurity.

Eumenes, after his overthrow, was obliged, for his preſervation, to employ moſt of his time in changing the place of his retreat; and he was highly admired for the tranquillity and ſteadineſs of mind he diſcovered in the wandering life to which he was reduced: for, as Plutarch obſerves, adverſity alone can place greatneſs of ſoul in its full point of light, and render the real merit of mankind conſpicuous; whereas proſperity frequently caſts a veil of falſe grandeur over real meanneſs and imperfections. Eumenes, having at laſt diſbanded moſt of his remaining troops, ſhut himſelf up with five hundred men, who were determined to ſhare his fate, in the caſtle of Nora, a place of extraordinary ſtrength on the frontiers of Cappadocia and Lycaonia, where he ſuſtained a ſiege of twelve months.

He was ſoon ſenſible, that nothing incommoded his garriſon ſo much as the ſmall ſpace they poſſeſſed, being ſhut up in little cloſe houſes, and on a tract of ground, whoſe whole circuit did not exceed two hundred fathoms, where they could neither walk nor perform the leaſt exerciſe; and where their horſes, having ſcarce any room for motion, became ſluggiſh, and incapable of ſervice. To remedy this inconvenience, he had recourſe to the following expedient. He

[p] Plut. in Eumen. p. 588—590. [q] Cor. Nep. in Eum. c. v.

converted the largeſt houſe in the place, the extent of which did not exceed twenty-one feet, into a kind of hall for exerciſe. This he conſigned to the men, and ordered them to walk in it very gently at firſt; they were afterwards to double their pace by degrees, and at laſt were to exert the moſt vigorous motions. He then took the following method for the horſes. He ſuſpended them, one after another, in ſtrong ſlings, which were diſpoſed under their breaſts, and from thence inſerted into rings faſtened to the roofs of the ſtable; after which he cauſed them to be raiſed into the air by the aid of pullies, and in ſuch a manner, that only their hinder feet reſted on the ground, while the extreme part of the hoofs of their fore-feet could hardly touch it. In this condition the grooms laſhed them ſeverely with their whips, which tormented the horſes to ſuch a degree, and forced them into ſuch violent agitations, that their bodies were all covered with ſweat and foam. After this exerciſe, which was finely calculated to ſtrengthen and keep them in wind, and likewiſe to render their limbs ſupple and pliant; their barley was given to them very clean, and winnowed from all the chaff, that they might eat it the ſooner, and with leſs difficulty. The abilities of a good general extend to every thing about him, and are ſeen in the minuteſt particulars.

A. M. 3685. Ant. J. C. 319. The ſiege, or more properly, the blockade of Nora, did not prevent Antigonus from undertaking a new expedition into Piſidia, againſt Alcetas and Attalus; the laſt of whom was taken priſoner in a battle, and the other ſlain by treachery in the place to which he retired.

[r] During theſe tranſactions in Aſia, Ptolemy ſeeing of what importance Syria, Phœnicia, and Judæa were, as well for covering Egypt, as for making proper diſpoſitions on that ſide for the invaſion of Cyprus, which he had then in view, determined to make himſelf maſter of thoſe provinces which were governed by Laomedon. With this intention he ſent Nicanor into Syria with a body of land forces, while he himſelf ſet out with a fleet to attack the coaſts. Nicanor defeated Laomedon, and took him priſoner; in conſequence of which he ſoon conquered the inland country. Ptolemy had the ſame advantages on the coaſts, by which means he became

[r] Diod. l. xviii. p. 621, 622.

abſolute maſter of thoſe provinces. The princes in alliance with him were alarmed at the rapidity of theſe conqueſts; but Antipater was at too great a diſtance, being then in Macedonia; and Antigonus was too much employed againſt Eumenes, to oppoſe theſe great acceſſions to the power of Ptolemy, who gave them no little jealouſy.

[s] After the defeat of Laomedon, the Jews were the only people who made any reſiſtance. They were duly ſenſible of the obligation they were under, by the oath they had taken, to their governor, and were determined to continue faithful to him. Ptolemy advanced into Judæa, and formed the ſiege of Jeruſalem. This city was ſo ſtrong by its advantageous ſituation, in conjunction with the works of art, that it would have ſuſtained a long ſiege, had it not been for the religious fear the Jews entertained of violating the law, by which they were prohibited to defend themſelves on the ſabbath. Ptolemy was not long unacquainted with this particular; and, in order to improve the great advantage it gave him, he choſe that day for the general aſſault; and as no individual among the Jews would preſume to defend himſelf, the city was taken without any difficulty.

Ptolemy at firſt treated Jeruſalem and Judæa with great ſeverity, for he carried above a hundred thouſand of the inhabitants captives into Egypt: but when he afterwards conſidered the ſteadineſs with which they had perſiſted in the fidelity they had ſworn to their governors, on this, and a variety of other occaſions, he was convinced, that this quality rendered them more worthy of his confidence; and he accordingly choſe thirty thouſand of the moſt diſtinguiſhed among them, who were moſt capable of ſerving him, and appointed them to guard the moſt important places in his dominions.

[t] Much about this time Antipater fell ſick in Macedonia. The Athenians were greatly diſſatisfied with the garriſon he had left in their city, and had frequently preſſed Phocion to go to the court of that prince, and ſolicit him to recall thoſe troops: but he always declined that commiſſion, either through a deſpair of not ſucceeding, or elſe becauſe he was conſcious, that the fear of this garriſon was the beſt expedient for keep-

[s] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. [t] Diod. l. xviii. p. 625, 626. Plut. in Phoc. p. 755.

ing them within the bounds of their duty. Demades, who was not ſo difficult to be prevailed upon, undertook the commiſſion with pleaſure, and immediately ſet out with his ſon for Macedonia. But his arrival in that country could not have happened at a more fatal conjuncture for himſelf. Antipater, as I have already intimated, was ſeiſed with a ſevere illneſs; and his ſon Caſſander, who was abſolute maſter of all affairs, had lately intercepted a letter which Demades had written to Antigonus in Aſia, preſſing him to come as ſoon as poſſible, and make himſelf maſter of Greece and Macedonia; "which," as he expreſſed himſelf, "were held together only by a thread, and even an old and rotten thread," ridiculing Antipater by thoſe expreſſions. As ſoon as Caſſander ſaw them appear at court, he cauſed them both to be arreſted; and he himſelf ſeiſing the ſon firſt, ſtabbed him before the face of his father, and at ſo little a diſtance from him, that he was covered with his blood. After which he reproached him with his perfidy and ingratitude, and when he had loaded him with inſults, he alſo killed him with his own hands on the dead body of his ſon. It was impoſſible that ſuch a barbarous proceeding ſhould not be deteſted; but mankind are not much diſpoſed to pity ſuch a wretch as Demades, who had dictated the decree, by which Demoſthenes and Hyperides were condemned to die.

The indiſpoſition of Antipater proved fatal to him, and his laſt attention was employed in filling up the two great ſtations which he enjoyed. His ſon Caſſander was very deſirous of them, and expected to have them conferred upon him; notwithſtanding which, Antipater beſtowed the regency of the kingdom, and the government of Macedonia, on Polyſperchon, the moſt ancient of all the ſurviving captains of Alexander, and thought it ſufficient to aſſociate Caſſander with him in thoſe employments.

I am at a loſs to determine, whether any inſtance of human conduct was ever greater, or more to be admired than this which I have now related in few words; nothing certainly could be more extraordinary, and hiſtory affords us few inſtances of the ſame nature. It was neceſſary to appoint a governor over Macedonia, and a regent of the empire. Antipater, who knew the importance of thoſe ſtations, was perſuaded that his own glory and reputation, and, what was ſtill

more prevalent with him, the intereſt of the ſtate, and the preſervation of the Macedonian monarchy, obliged him to nominate a man of authority, and one reſpected for his age, experience, and paſt ſervices. He had a ſon who was not void of merit; how rare and difficult therefore, but, at the ſame time, how amiable and glorious was it to ſelect, on ſuch an occaſion, no man but the moſt deſerving, and beſt qualified to ſerve the public effectually; to extinguiſh the voice of nature; turn a deaf ear to all her remonſtrances, and not ſuffer the judgment to be ſeduced by the impreſſions of paternal affection; in a word, to continue ſo much maſter of one's penetration, as to render juſtice to the merit of a ſtranger, and openly prefer it to that of a ſon, and ſacrifice all the intereſt of one's own family to the public welfare! Hiſtory has tranſmitted to us an expreſſion of the Emperor Galba, which will do honour to his memory throughout all ages. "Auguſtus," * ſaid he, "choſe a ſucceſſor out of his own family; and I one from the whole empire."

Caſſander was extremely enraged at the affront, which, as he pretended, had been offered him by this choice; and thought in that reſpect, like the generality of men, who are apt to look upon the employments they poſſeſs as hereditary, and with this flattering perſuaſion, that the ſtate is of no conſequence in compariſon with themſelves: never examining what is requiſite to the poſts they enjoy, or whether they have competent abilities to ſuſtain them, and conſidering only whether thoſe poſts are agreeable to their fortune. Caſſander, not being able to digeſt his father's preferring a ſtranger before him, endeavoured to form a party againſt the new regent. He alſo ſecured to himſelf all the places he could in the government of that officer, as well in Greece as in Macedonia, and propoſed nothing leſs, than to diveſt him of the whole.

[u] To this effect, he endeavoured to engage Ptolemy and Antigonus in his party; and they readily eſpouſed it with the ſame views, and from the ſame motives. It was equally their intereſt to deſtroy this new regent, as well as the regency itſelf, which always kept them in apprehenſions, and reminded them of their ſtate of dependency. They likewiſe

[u] Diod. l. xviii. p. 630.

* *Auguſtus in domo ſucceſſorem quæſivit: ego in republica.* TACIT. Hiſt. l. i. c. 15.

imagined, that it ſecretly reproached them for aſpiring at ſovereignty, while it cheriſhed the rights of the two pupils; and left the governors in a ſituation of uncertainty, in conſequence of which they were perpetually in fear of being diveſted of their power. Both the one and the other believed it would be eaſy for them to ſucceed in their deſigns, if the Macedonians were once engaged at home in a civil war.

The death of Antipater had rendered Antigonus the moſt powerful of all the captains of Alexander. His authority was abſolute in all the provinces of Aſia Minor, in conjunction with the title of generaliſſimo, and an army of ſeventy thouſand men, and thirty elephants, which no power in the empire was, at that time, capable of reſiſting. It cannot, therefore, be thought ſurpriſing, that this ſuperiority ſhould inſpire him with the deſign of engroſſing the whole monarchy of the Macedonians; and, in order to ſucceed in that attempt, he began with making a reformation in all the governments of the provinces within his juriſdiction, diſplacing all thoſe perſons whom he ſuſpected, and ſubſtituting his creatures in their room. In the conduct of this ſcheme, he removed Aridæus from the government of leſſer Phrygia, and the Helleſpont, and Clytus from that of Lydia.

[x] Polyſperchon neglected nothing, on his part, that was neceſſary to ſtrengthen his intereſt; and thought it adviſable to recal Olympias, who had retired into Epirus, under the regency of Antipater, with the offer of ſharing his authority with her. This princeſs diſpatched a courier to Eumenes, to conſult him on the propoſal ſhe had received; and he adviſed her to wait ſome time, in order to ſee what turn affairs would take: adding, that if ſhe determined to return to Macedonia, he would recommend it to her in particular, to forget all the injuries ſhe thought ſhe had received; that it would alſo be her intereſt to govern with moderation, and to make others ſenſible of her authority by benefactions, and not by ſeverity. As to all other particulars, he promiſed an inviolable attachment to herſelf and the royal family. Olympias did not conform to theſe judicious counſels in any reſpect, but ſet out as ſoon as poſſible for Macedonia; where upon her

[x] Diod. l. xviii. p. 626, & 634. Cor. Nep. in Eumen. c. vi.

arrival, ſhe conſulted nothing but her paſſions, and her inſatiable deſire of dominion and revenge.

Polyſperchon, who had many enemies upon his hands, endeavoured to ſecure Greece, of which he foreſaw Caſſander would attempt to make himſelf maſter. He alſo took meaſures with relation to other parts of the empire, as will appear by the ſequel.

[y] In order to engage the Greeks in his intereſt, he iſſued a decree, by which he recalled the exiles, and re-inſtated all the cities in their ancient privileges. He acquainted the Athenians in particular by letters, that the King had re-eſtabliſhed their democracy and ancient form of government, by which the Athenians were admitted without diſtinction into public offices. This was a ſtrain of policy calculated to enſnare Phocion; for Polyſperchon intending to make himſelf maſter of Athens, as was evident in a ſhort time, he deſpaired of ſucceeding in that deſign, unleſs he could find ſome expedient to procure the baniſhment of Phocion, who had favoured and introduced oligarchy under Antipater; and he was, therefore, certain of accompliſhing this ſcheme, as ſoon as thoſe, who had been excluded from the government, ſhould be reinſtated in their ancient rights.

SECT. V. *The Athenians condemn Phocion to die. Caſſander makes himſelf maſter of Athens, where he eſtabliſhes Demetrius Phalereus in the government of that republic. His prudent adminiſtration. Eumenes quits Nora. Various expeditions of Antigonus, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and other generals againſt him. Olympias cauſes Aridæus to be ſlain, and is murdered in her turn by the orders of Caſſander. The war between him and Polyſperchon. The re-eſtabliſhment of Thebes. Eumenes is betrayed by his own troops, delivered up to Antigonus, and put to death.*

[z] CASSANDER, before the death of Antipater was known at Athens, had ſent Nicanor thither, to ſucceed Menyllus in the government of the fortreſs of Munychia, ſoon after which he had made himſelf maſter of Piræus. Phocion, who placed too much confidence in the probity and fidelity of

[y] Diod. l. xviii. p. 631, 632. [z] Diod. l. xviii. p. 638—642.

Nicanor, had contracted a ſtrict intimacy, and converſed frequently with him, which cauſed the people to ſuſpect him more than ever.

In this conjuncture, Alexander, the ſon of Polyſperchon, arrived with a great body of troops, under pretext of ſuccouring the city againſt Nicanor, but in reality to ſeiſe it into his own power, if poſſible, in conſequence of the diviſions which then reigned within it. He there held a tumultuous aſſembly, in which Phocion was diveſted of his employment of general; while Demetrius Phalereus, with ſeveral other citizens, who were apprehenſive of the ſame fate, immediately retired from the city. Phocion, who had the grief to ſee himſelf accuſed of treaſon, took ſanctuary with Polyſperchon, who ſent him back to be tried by the people. An aſſembly was immediately convoked on that occaſion, from which neither ſlaves, ſtrangers, nor any infamous perſons whatever, were excluded. This proceeding was contrary to all the eſtabliſhed rules; notwithſtanding which, Phocion, and the other priſoners, were preſented to the people. Moſt perſons of any merit in the aſſembly, caſt down their eyes to the earth at this ſpectacle, and, covering their heads, wept abundantly. One among them having the courage to move, that the ſlaves and ſtrangers might be ordered to withdraw, was immediately oppoſed by the populace, who cried out that they ought rather to ſtone thoſe advocates for oligarchy and enemies of the people. Phocion frequently attempted to plead his own cauſe, and vindicate his conduct, but was always interrupted. It was cuſtomary at Athens, for the perſon accuſed to declare, before ſentence paſſed againſt him, what puniſhment he ought to ſuffer. Phocion anſwered aloud, that he condemned himſelf to die, but deſired the aſſembly to ſpare the reſt. Upon this the ſuffrages were demanded, and they were unanimouſly ſentenced to ſuffer death, previous to which they were conveyed to the dungeon. Demetrius Phalereus, and ſome others, though abſent, were included in the ſame condemnation. The companions of Phocion were ſo affected by the ſorrows of their relations and friends, who came to embrace them in the ſtreets, with the melancholy tender of the laſt farewell, that they proceeded on their way, lamenting their unhappy fate in a flood of tears: but Phocion ſtill retained the ſame air and countenance, as he had formerly ſhown, when he quitted

the aſſembly to take upon him the command of armies, and when the Athenians attended him in crowds to his own houſe with the voice of praiſes and acclamations.

One of the populace, more inſolent than the reſt, advanced up to him, and ſpit in his face. Phocion only turned to the magiſtrates, and ſaid, "Will nobody hinder this man from acting ſo unworthily?" When he arrived at the priſon, one of his friends having aſked him if he had any meſſage to ſend to his ſon? "Yes, certainly," replied he, "it is to deſire, that he would never remember the injuſtice of the Athenians." When he had uttered theſe words, he took the hemlock, and died.

On that day there was alſo a public proceſſion, and as it paſſed before the priſon, ſome of the perſons who compoſed it, took their crowns from their heads; others turned their eyes to the gates of the priſon, and burſt into tears; and all who had any remains of humanity and religion, and whoſe ſouls were not entirely depraved and blinded by rage or envy, acknowledged it to be an inſtance of unnatural barbarity, as well as a great impiety, with regard to the city, not to have abſtained, on ſuch a ſolemn day, from the infliction of death on a citizen ſo univerſally eſteemed, and whoſe admirable virtues had procured him the appellation of The Good.*

To puniſh † the greateſt virtues as the moſt flagitious crimes, and to repay the beſt of ſervices with the moſt inhuman treatment, is a guilt condemned in all places, but eſpecially in Athens, where ingratitude was puniſhable by the law. The regulations of her ſage legiſlator ſtill ſubſiſted at that time, but they were wreſted to the condemnation of her citizens, and only became an evidence, how much that people were degenerated in their manners.

The enemies of Phocion, not ſatisfied with the puniſhment they had cauſed him to ſuffer, and believing ſome particulars were ſtill wanting to complete their triumph, obtained an order from the people, that his body ſhould be carried out of the

* *Ob integritatem vitæ Bonus eſt appellatus.* Cor. Nep.

† *Quid obeſt quin publica dementia ſit exiſtimanda, ſummo conſenſu maximas virtutes quaſi graviſſima delicta punire, beneficiaque injuriis rependere? Quod cùm ubique, tum præcipuè Athenis intolerabile videri debet, in qua urbe adverſus ingratos actio conſtituta eſt—Quantum ergo reprehenſionem merentur, qui cum æquiſſima jura ſed iniquiſſima habebant ingenia, moribus ſuis, quam legibus uti maluerint?* Val. Max. l. v. c. 3.

dominions of Attica, and that none of the Athenians ſhould contribute the leaſt quantity of wood to honour his funeral pile: theſe laſt offices were, therefore, rendered to him in the territories of Megara. A lady of the country, who accidentally aſſiſted at his funeral with her ſervants, cauſed a cenotaph, or vacant tomb, to be erected to his memory on the ſame ſpot; and collecting into her robe the bones of that great man, which ſhe had carefully gathered up, ſhe conveyed them into her houſe by night, and buried them under her hearth, with theſe expreſſions: "Dear and ſacred hearth, I here confide to thee, and depoſit in thy boſom, theſe precious remains of a worthy man. Preſerve them with fidelity, in order to reſtore them hereafter to the monument of his anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall become wiſer than they are at preſent."

Though it may poſſibly be thought, that a variety of irregular, tumultuous, unjuſt, and cruel ſentences, denounced in Athens againſt virtuous citizens at different times, might have prepared us for this laſt, it will, however, be always thought ſurpriſing, that a whole people, of whom one naturally conceives a noble idea, after ſuch a ſeries of great actions, ſhould be capable of ſuch a ſtrange perverſity. But it ought to be remembered, that the dregs of a vile populace, entirely void of honour, probity, and morals, reigned then at Athens. And there is ſufficient foundation for the ſentiments of Plato and Plutarch, who declare, that the people, when they are either deſtitute of guides, or no longer liſten to their admonitions; and when they have thrown off the reins by which they once were checked, and are entirely abandoned to their impetuoſity and caprice; ought to be conſidered as a blind, intractable, and cruel monſter, ready to launch in a moment into the moſt fatal and oppoſite extremes, and infinitely more formidable than the moſt inhuman tyrants. What can be expected from ſuch a tribunal? When people reſolve to be guided by nothing but mere paſſiſſion; to have no regard to decorum, and to run headlong into an open violation of all laws; the beſt, the juſteſt, and moſt innocent of mankind, will ſink under an implacable and prevailing cabal. This Socrates experienced almoſt a hundred years before Phocion periſhed by the ſame fate.

This laſt was one of the greateſt men that Greece ever produced, in whoſe perſon every kind of merit were united.

He had been educated in the ſchool of Plato and Xenocrates, and formed his manners upon the moſt perfect plan of Pagan virtue, to which his conduct was always conformable.

It would be difficult for any perſon to carry diſintereſt higher than this extraordinary man; which appeared from the extreme poverty in which he died, after the many great offices he had filled. How many opportunities of acquiring riches has a general always at the head of armies, who acts againſt rich and opulent enemies; ſometimes in countries abounding with all things, and which ſeem to invite the plunderer! But Phocion would have thought it infamous, had he returned from his campaigns laden with any acquiſition, but the glory of his exalted actions, and the grateful benedictions of the people he had ſpared.

This excellent perſon, amidſt all the ſeverity which rendered him in ſome meaſure intractable, when the intereſts of the republic were concerned, had ſo much natural ſoftneſs and humanity that his enemies themſelves always found him diſpoſed to aſſiſt them. It might even have been ſaid, that he was a compoſition of two natures, whoſe qualities were entirely oppoſite to each other in appearance. When he acted as a public man, he armed himſelf with fortitude, and ſteadineſs, and zeal; he could ſometimes aſſume even the air of a rigid indignation, and was inflexible in ſupporting diſcipline in its utmoſt ſtrictneſs. If, on the other hand, he appeared in a private capacity, his conduct was a perpetual diſplay of mildneſs and affability, condeſcenſion and patience, and was graced with all the virtues that can render the commerce of life agreeable. It was no inconſiderable merit, and eſpecially in a military man, to be capable of uniting two ſuch different characters in ſuch a manner, that as the ſeverity which was neceſſary for the preſervation of good order, was never ſeen to degenerate into the rigour that creates averſion in others; ſo the gentleneſs and complacency of his diſpoſition never ſunk into that ſoftneſs and indifference which occaſions contempt.

He has been greatly applauded for reforming the modern cuſtom of his country, which made war and policy two different profeſſions; and alſo for reſtoring the manner of

governing of Pericles and Ariſtides, by uniting each of thoſe talents in himſelf.

As he was perſuaded, that eloquence was eſſential to a ſtateſman, and eſpecially in a republican government, he applied himſelf to the attainment of it with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs. His was conciſe, ſolid, full of force and ſenſe, and cloſe to the point in queſtion. He thought it beneath a ſtateſman to uſe a poignant and ſatiric ſtyle, and his only anſwer to thoſe who employed ſuch language againſt him, was ſilence and patience. [a] An orator having once interrupted him with many injurious expreſſions, he ſuffered him to continue in that ſtrain as long as he pleaſed, and then reſumed his own diſcourſe with as much coolneſs as if he had heard nothing.

It was highly glorious for Phocion, that he was forty-five times elected a general by a people to whoſe caprice he was ſo little inclinable to accommodate his conduct, and it is remarkable that theſe elections always happened when he was abſent, without any previous ſolicitations on his part. His wife was ſufficiently ſenſible how much this was for his glory, and one day when an Ionian lady of conſiderable rank, who lodged in her houſe, ſhowed her, with an air of oſtentation and pleaſure, her ornaments of gold, with a variety of jewels and bracelets, ſhe anſwered her with a modeſt tone, "For my part, I have no ornament but Phocion, who for theſe twenty years has always been elected general of the Athenians."

His regular and frugal life contributed not a little to the vigorous and healthy old age he enjoyed. When he was in his eightieth year, he commanded the forces, and ſuſtained all the fatigues of war, with the vivacity of a young officer.

One of the great principles in the politics of Phocion was, that peace ought always to be the aim of every wiſe government, and with this view, he was a conſtant oppoſer of all wars that were either imprudent or unneceſſary. He was even apprehenſive of thoſe that were moſt juſt and expedient; becauſe he was ſenſible, that every war weakened and impoveriſhed a ſtate, even amidſt a ſeries of the greateſt victories, and that whatever the advantage might be at the commencement of it, there was never any certainty of termi-

[a] Plut. de ger. rep. p. 810.

nating it, without experiencing the moſt tragical viciſſitudes of fortune.

The intereſt of the public never gave way with him to any domeſtic views; he conſtantly refuſed to ſolicit, or act in favour of his ſon-in-law Charicles, who was ſummoned before the republic, to account for the ſums he had received from Harpalus; and he then addreſſed himſelf to him with this admirable expreſſion—"I have made you my ſon-in-law, but only for what is honeſt and honourable." It muſt indeed be acknowledged, that men of this character ſeem very incommodious and inſupportable in the common tranſactions of life: They are always ſtarting difficulties,* when any affair is propoſed to them; and never perform any good offices with entire eaſe and grace. We muſt always deliberate, whether what we requeſt of ſuch perſons be juſt or not. Their friends and relations have as little aſcendant over them as utter ſtrangers; and they always oppoſe, either their conſcience, or ſome particular duties to ancient friendſhip, affinity, or the advantage of their families. To this height of delicacy did Phocion carry the Pagan probity.

One may juſtly apply to him what Tacitus ſaid of a celebrated Roman, I mean Helvidius Priſcus.† Phocion who had as ſolid a genius as that perſon, applied himſelf at firſt to philoſophy, not to cover his indolence with the pompous title of a ſage, but to qualify himſelf for entering upon the conduct of affairs with more vigour and reſolution againſt all unexpected accidents. He concurred in opinion with thoſe who acknowledge no other good or evil than virtue and vice, and who ranked all externals, as fortune, power, nobility, in the claſs of indifferent things. He was a firm friend, a tender huſband, a good ſenator, a worthy citizen,

* *Hæc prima lex in amicitia ſanciatur, ut neque rogemus res turpes, nec faciamus rogati. Turpis enim excuſatio eſt, et minimè accipienda, cùm in cæteris peccatis, tum ſi quis contra rempublicam ſe amici cauſa feciſſe fateatur.* Cic. de Amicit. n. 40.

† *Ingenium illuſtre altioribus ſtudiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut nomine magnifico ſegne otium velaret, ſed quo firmior adverſus fortuita rempublicam capeſſeret. Doctores ſapientiæ ſecutus eſt, qui ſola bona quæ honeſta, mala tantùm quæ turpia, potentiam, nobilitatem, cæteraque extra animum, neque bonis neque malis annumerant—Civis, ſenator, maritus, amicus cunctis, vitæ officiis æquabilis: opum contemptor, recti pervicax, conſtans adverſus metus.* Tacit. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 5.

and diſcharged all the offices of civil life with equal merit. He preſerved a ſteadineſs of mind in proſperity that reſembled ſtiffneſs and ſeverity, and deſpiſed death as much as riches.

Theſe are part of the great qualities of Phocion, who merited an happier end; and they were placed in their moſt amiable light by his death. The conſtancy of mind, the mildneſs of diſpoſition, and the forgetfulneſs of wrongs conſpicuous in his conduct on that occaſion, are above all his other praiſes, and infinitely enhance their luſtre, eſpecially as we ſhall ſee nothing comparable to him from henceforth in the Grecian hiſtory.

His infatuated and ungrateful country was not ſenſible of their unworthy proceeding till ſome time after his death. The Athenians then erected a ſtatute of braſs to his memory, and honourably interred his bones at the public expence. His accuſers alſo ſuffered a puniſhment ſuitable to their deſert; but did not his judges themſelves deſerve to be treated with greater ſeverity than them? They puniſhed their own crime in others, and thought themſelves acquitted by a brazen ſtatue. They were even ready to relapſe into the ſame injuſtice againſt others who were equally innocent, whom they condemned during their lives, and had never the equity to acquit till after their death.

[b] Caſſander was careful to improve the diſorder that reigned in Athens, and entered the Piræus with a fleet of thirty-five veſſels which he had received from Antigonus. The Athenians, when they beheld themſelves deſtitute of all ſuccours, unanimouſly reſolved to ſend deputies to Caſſander, in order to know the conditions on which they might treat of a peace; and it was mutually agreed that the Athenians ſhould continue maſters of the city, with its territories, and likewiſe of the revenues and ſhips. But they ſtipulated that the citadel ſhould remain in the power of Caſſander, till he had ended the war with the Kings. And as to what related to the affairs of the republic, it was agreed, that thoſe, whoſe income amounted to ten minæ, or a thouſand drachmæ, ſhould have a ſhare in the government, which was a leſs ſum by half than that which was the qualification for public em-

[b] Diod. l. xviii. p. 642.

ployments, when Antipater made himſelf maſter of Athens. In a word, the inhabitants of that city permitted Caſſander to chooſe what citizen he pleaſed to govern the republic, and Demetrius Phalereus was elected to that dignity about the cloſe of the third year of the 105th Olympiad. The ten years' government, therefore, which Diodorus and Diogenes have aſſigned Demetrius, is to be computed from the beginning of the following year.

He governed the republic in peace; he conſtantly treated his fellow-citizens with all imaginable mildneſs and humanity; and hiſtorians acknowledge that the government was never better regulated than under Caſſander. This prince ſeemed inclinable to tyranny, but the Athenians were not ſenſible of its effects. And though Demetrius, whom he had conſtituted chief of the republic, was inveſted with a kind of ſovereign power, yet inſtead of aboliſhing the democracy, he may rather be ſaid to have re-eſtabliſhed it. He acted in ſuch a manner, that the people ſcarce perceived that he was maſter. As he united in his perſon the politician and the man of letters, his ſoft and perſuaſive eloquence demonſtrated the truth of an expreſſion he frequently uſed: that diſcourſe had as much power in a government as arms in war. His abilities in political affairs were equally conſpicuous;* for he produced ſpeculative philoſophy from the ſhade and inactivity of the ſchools, exhibited her in full light, and knew how to familiariſe her precepts with the moſt tumultuous affairs. It would have been difficult, therefore, to have found a perſon capable of excelling like him in the art of government, and the ſtudy of the ſciences.

He acquired, during theſe ten years of his government, that reputation which cauſed him to be conſidered as one of the greateſt men Athens has produced. He augmented the revenues of the republic, and adorned the city with noble ſtructures; he was likewiſe induſtrious to diminiſh luxury, and all expences which tended to the promotion of pride. For which reaſon he diſapproved of thoſe that were laid out on

* *Mirabiliter doctrinam ex umbraculis eruditorum otioque, non modò in ſolem atque pulverem, ſed in ipſum diſcrimen aciemque perduxit——Qui utraque re excelleret, ut et doctrinæ ſtudiis, et regenda civitate princeps eſſet, quis facilè præter hunc inveniri poteſt?* Cic. l. iii. de leg. n. 15.

theatres,* porticoes, and new temples, and openly cenſured Pericles, for having beſtowed ſuch a prodigious ſum of money on the magnificent porticoes of the temple of Pallas, called [c] *Propylæa*. But in all public feaſts which had been conſecrated by antiquity, or when the people were inclinable to be expenſive in the celebration of any ſacred ſolemnities, he permitted them to uſe their riches as they pleaſed.

[d] The expenſe was exceſſive at the death of great perſons, and their ſepulchres were as ſumptuous and magnificent as thoſe of the Romans in the age of Cicero. Demetrius made a law to aboliſh this abuſe which had paſſed into a cuſtom, and inflicted penalties on thoſe who diſobeyed it. He alſo ordered the ceremonials of funerals to be performed by night, and none were permitted to place any other ornament on tombs, but a column three cubits high, or a plain table, *menſam;* and he appointed a particular magiſtrate to enforce the obſervation of this law.

[e] He likewiſe made laws for the regulation of manners, and commanded young perſons to teſtify reſpect for their parents at home; and in the city to thoſe whom they met in their way, and to themſelves, when they were alone.

[f] The poor citizens were likewiſe the objects of his attention. There were at that time in Athens, ſome of the deſcendants of Ariſtides, that Athenian general, who after he had poſſeſſed the greateſt offices in the ſtate, and governed the affairs of the treaſury for a very conſiderable time, died ſo poor, that the public was obliged to defray the charges of his funeral. Demetrius took care of thoſe deſcendants who were poor, and aſſigned them a daily ſum for their ſubſiſtence.

[g] Such, ſays Ælian, was the government of Demetrius Phalereus, till the ſpirit of envy, ſo natural to the Athenians, obliged him to quit the city, in the manner we ſhall ſoon relate.

[c] Plut. in præcept. reip. ger. p. 818. [d] Cic. de Leg. l. ii. n. 63—66.
[e] Diog. Laert. [f] Plut. in vit. Ariſt. p. 535. [g] Ælian. l. iii. c. 17.

* *Theatra, porticus, nova templa, verecundiùs reprehendo propter Pompeium: ſed doctiſſimi improbant—ut Phalereus Demetrius, qui Periclem, principem Græciæ, vituperabat quòd tantam pecuniam in præclara ille Propylæa conjecerit.* Cic. l. ii. de Office. n. 60.

The advantageous teſtimonials rendered him by ancient authors of the greateſt repute, not only of his extraordinary talents and ability in the art of government, but likewiſe his virtue, and the wiſdom of his conduct, is a plain refutation of all that has been advanced by Athenæus, on the authority of the hiſtorian Duris, with relation to the irregularity of his deportment; and ſtrengthens the conjecture of M. Bonamy, who ſuppoſes, that Duris, or Athenæus, have imputed that to Demetrius Phalereus, which related only to Demetrius Poliorcetes, the ſon of Antigonus, to whom Ælian aſcribes the very particulars which Athenæus had cited from Duris. [i] The reader may have recourſe to the diſſertation of M. Bonamy, which has been very uſeful to me in the courſe of this work.

[k] During the 105th Olympiad Demetrius Phalereus cauſed the inhabitants of Attica to be numbered, and they amounted to twenty-one thouſand [l] citizens, ten thouſand [m] ſtrangers, and * forty thouſand [n] domeſtics.

[o] We now return to Polyſperchon. When he had received intelligence that Caſſander had made himſelf maſter of Athens, he immediately haſtened to beſiege him in that city; but as the ſiege took up a great length of time, he left part of his troops before the place, and advanced with the reſt into Peloponneſus, to force the city of Megara to ſurrender. The inhabitants made a long and vigorous defence, which compelled Polyſperchon to employ his attention and forces on thoſe quarters to which he was called by more preſſing neceſſities. He diſpatched Clitus to the Helleſpont, with orders to prevent the enemy's troops from paſſing out of Aſia into Europe. Nicanor ſet ſail, at the ſame time, from the port of Athens, in order to attack him, but was himſelf defeated near Byzantium. Antigonus having advanced in a very ſeaſonable juncture, made himſelf amends for this loſs,

[i] Tom. VIII. des Memoires de l'Academ. des Belles Lettres.
[k] Athen. l. vi. p. 272. [l] Ἀθηναίους. [m] μετοίκους. [n] οἰκέτας.
[o] Diod. l. xviii. p. 642—646.

* The words in the original are μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα, forty myriads, which are equal to four hundred thouſand, which is an evident miſtake, and it undoubtedly ought to be read τεσσαρας, four myriads, which amount to forty thouſand.

beat Clitus, and took all his fleet, except the veſſel of Clitus, which eſcaped with great difficulty.

[p] Antigonus was moſt embarraſſed in his endeavours to reduce Eumenes, whoſe valour, wiſdom, and great ability in the art of war, were more formidable to him than all the reſt, though he had beſieged and blocked him up for twelve months in the caſtle of Nora. He therefore made a ſecond attempt to engage him in his intereſt, for he had taken meaſures to that effect, before he formed that ſiege. He accordingly conſigned this commiſſion to Jerom of Cardia, his countryman, and a famous hiſtorian of that time,* who was authoriſed by him to make overtures of accommodation to his adverſary. Eumenes conducted this negociation with ſo much dexterity and addreſs, that he extricated himſelf from the ſiege, at the very juncture wherein he was reduced to the laſt extremities, and without entering into any particular engagements with Antigonus. For the latter having inſerted in the oath, which Eumenes was to ſwear in conſequence of this accommodation, that he would conſider all thoſe as his friends and enemies, who ſhould prove ſuch to Antigonus; Eumenes changed that article, and ſwore that he would regard all thoſe as his friends and enemies, who ſhould be ſuch to Olympias and the kings, as well as to Antigonus. He then deſired the Macedonians who aſſiſted at the ſiege, to determine which of theſe two forms was beſt; and as they were guided by their affection for the royal family, they declared, without the leaſt heſitation, for the form drawn up by Eumenes; upon which he ſwore to it, and the ſiege was immediately raiſed.

When Antigonus was informed of the manner in which this affair was concluded, he was ſo diſſatisfied with it, that he refuſed to ratify the treaty, and gave orders for the ſiege to be inſtantly renewed. Theſe orders however came too late, for as ſoon as Eumenes ſaw the enemy's forces were withdrawn from before the place, he quitted it without delay, with the remains of his troops, which amounted to five

[p] Plut. in Eumen. p. 590.

* He compiled the hiſtory of thoſe who divided the dominions of Alexander among themſelves, and it likewiſe comprehended the hiſtory of their ſucceſſors.

hundred men, and ſaved himſelf in Cappadocia, where he immediately aſſembled two thouſand of his veteran ſoldiers, and made all the neceſſary preparations for ſuſtaining the war, which he foreſaw would ſoon be revived againſt him.

The revolt of Antigonus from the kings, having occaſioned a great alarm, Polyſperchon the regent diſpatched to Eumenes, in the name of the kings, a commiſſion by which he was conſtituted captain-general of Aſia Minor; others were likewiſe ſent to Teutames and Antigenes, colonels of the Argyraſpides, to join, and ſerve under him, againſt Antigonus. The neceſſary orders were alſo tranſmitted to thoſe who had the care of the kings' treaſures, to pay him five hundred talents, for the re-eſtabliſhment of his own affairs, and likewiſe to furniſh him with all the ſums that would be neceſſary to defray the expence of the war. All theſe were accompanied with letters from Olympias.

[r] Eumenes was very ſenſible that the accumulation of all theſe honours on the head of a ſtranger, would infallibly excite a violent envy againſt him, and render him odious to the Macedonians: But as he was incapable of acting to any effect without them, and ſince the good of the ſervice itſelf made it neceſſary for him to employ all his efforts to gain them, he began with refuſing the ſums which were granted him for his own uſe, declaring that he had no occaſion for them, becauſe he was not intent on any particular advantage of his own, nor on any enterpriſe of that tendency. He was ſtudious to treat every perſon about him, the officers, and even the ſoldiers, with an obliging civility, in order to extinguiſh, as much as poſſible, or at leaſt to weaken, by an engaging conduct, the jealouſy to which his condition, as a ſtranger, afforded a plauſible pretext, though he endeavoured not to draw it upon him by any conduct of his own. A. M. 3686, Ant. J. C. 318.

But an impediment, ſtill more invincible in appearance, threw him under a reſtraint, and created him very cruel inquietudes. Antigenes and Teutames, who commanded the Argyraſpides, thought it diſhonourable to their nation, to ſubmit to a ſtranger, and refuſed to attend him in council. On the other hand, he could not, without derogating from the prerogatives of his poſt, comply with them in that point,

[r] Diod. l. xviii. p. 635, 636, & 663. Plut. in Eum. p. 591—593. Cor. Nep. c. vii.

and conſent to ſuch a degradation. An ingenious fiction diſengaged him from this perplexity, and he had recourſe to the aids of religion, or rather ſuperſtition, which has always a powerful influence over the minds of men, and ſeldom fails of accompliſhing its effect. He aſſured them, "That Alexander, arrayed in his royal robes, had appeared to him "in his ſlumber, and ſhown him a magnificent tent, in which "a throne was erected, and that the monarch declared to "him, that while they held their councils in that tent, to "deliberate on their affairs, he himſelf would be always preſent, ſeated on that throne; from whence he would iſſue his "orders to his captains, and that he would conduct them in "the execution of all their deſigns and enterpriſes, provided "they would always addreſs themſelves to him." This diſcourſe was ſufficient, and the minds of all who heard it were wrought upon by the profound reſpect they entertained for the memory of that prince: In conſequence of which they immediately ordered a ſplendid tent to be erected, and a throne placed in it, which was to be called *the throne of Alexander;* and on this were to be laid his diadem and crown, with his ſcepter and arms; that all the chiefs ſhould reſort thither every morning to offer ſacrifices; that their conſultations ſhould be held near the throne, and that all orders ſhould be received in the name of the king, as if he was ſtill living, and taking care of his kingdom. Eumenes calmed the diſpute by this expedient, which met with unanimous approbation. No one raiſed himſelf above the others; but each competitor continued in the enjoyment of his privileges, till new events decided them in a more poſitive manner.

[s] As Eumenes was ſufficiently ſupplied with money, he ſoon raiſed a very conſiderable body of troops, and had an army of twenty thouſand men, in the ſeaſon of ſpring. Theſe forces, with Eumenes at their head, were ſufficient to ſpread terrour among his enemies. Ptolemy ſailed to the coaſts of Cilicia, and employed all ſorts of expedients to corrupt the Argyraſpides. Antigonus, on his part, made the ſame attempts by the emiſſaries he had in his camp; but neither the one nor the other could ſucceed then; ſo much

[s] Diod. l. xviii. p. 636—638.

had Eumenes gained upon the minds of his ſoldiers, and ſo great was the confidence they repoſed in him.

He advanced, with theſe affectionate troops, into Syria and Phœnicia, to recover thoſe provinces which Ptolemy had ſeiſed with the greateſt injuſtice. The maritime force of Phœnicia, in conjunction with the fleet, which the regent had already procured, would have rendered them abſolute maſters by ſea, and they might likewiſe have been capable of tranſmitting all neceſſary ſuccours to each other. Could Eumenes have ſucceeded in this deſign, it would have been a deciſive blow; but the fleet of Polyſperchon having been entirely deſtroyed by the miſconduct of Clitus, who commanded it, that misfortune rendered his project ineffectual. Antigonus, who had defeated him, marched by land, immediately after that victory, againſt Eumenes, with an army much more numerous than his own. Eumenes made a prudent retreat through Cœloſyria, after which he paſſed the Euphrates, and took up his winter-quarters at Carres in Meſopotamia.

[t] During his continuance in thoſe parts, he ſent to Pithon, governor of Media, and to Seleucus, governor of Babylon, to preſs them to join him with their forces againſt Antigonus, and cauſed the orders of the kings to be ſhown them, by which they were enjoined to comply with his demand. They anſwered, that they were ready to aſſiſt thoſe monarchs; but that, as to his own particular, they would have no tranſactions with a man who had been declared a public enemy by the Macedonians. This was only a pretext, and they were actuated by a much more prevalent motive. If they had acknowledged the authority of Eumenes, and had obeyed him by advancing to him, and ſubjecting their troops to his command, they muſt alſo have acknowledged the ſovereign power of the regent, as well as of thoſe who were maſters of the royal pupils, and made uſe of their names, to render their own power more extenſive. Pithon and Seleucus muſt, therefore, by inevitable conſequence, have owned, that they held their governments only from thoſe Kings, and might be diveſted of them at their pleaſure, and by virtue of

[t] Diod. l. xix. p. 660, 661.

the firſt order, to that effect, which would have deſtroyed all their ambitious pretences with a ſingle ſtroke.

Moſt of the officers of Alexander, who had ſhared the governments of the empire among themſelves, after his death, were ſolicitous to ſecure themſelves the ſupreme power in their ſeveral provinces; for which reaſon they had choſen a perſon of a mean capacity, and an infant, on whom they conferred the title of ſovereign, in order to have ſufficient time to eſtabliſh their uſurpations under a weak government. But all theſe meaſures would have been diſconcerted, if they had allowed Eumenes an aſcendant over them, with ſuch an air of ſuperiority, as ſubjected them to his orders. He iſſued them, indeed, in the name of the kings; but this was a circumſtance they were deſirous of evading, and at the ſame time it created him ſo many enemies and obſtructions. They were alſo apprehenſive of the merit and ſuperior genius of Eumenes, who was capable of the greateſt and moſt difficult enterpriſes. It is certain, that of all the captains of Alexander, he had the greateſt ſhare of wiſdom and bravery, and was alſo the moſt ſteady in his reſolutions; for he never broke his engagements with any of thoſe commanders, though they did not obſerve the ſame fidelity with reſpect to him.

Eumenes marched from Babylonia the following ſpring, and was in danger of loſing his army by a ſtratagem of Seleucus. The troops were encamped in a plain near the Euphrates, and Seleucus, by cutting the banks from that river, laid all the neighbouring country under water. Eumenes, however, was ſo expeditious as to gain an eminence with his troops, and found means, the next day, to drain off the inundation ſo effectually, that he purſued his march almoſt without ſuſtaining any loſs.

[u] Seleucus was then reduced to the neceſſity of making a truce with him, and of granting him a peaceable paſſage through the territories of his province, in order to arrive at Suſa, where he diſpoſed his troops into quarters of refreſhment, while he ſolicited all the governors of the provinces, in Upper Aſia, for ſuccours. He had before notified to them the order of the kings, and thoſe whom he had charged

[u] Diod. l. xix. p. 662—664. Plut. in Eumen.

with that commiſſion, found them all aſſembled, at the cloſe of a war they had undertaken in concert, againſt Pithon the governor of Media. This Pithon having purſued the very ſame meaſures in the Upper Aſia, which Antigonus had formed in the Lower, had cauſed Philotas to ſuffer death, and made himſelf maſter of his government. He would likewiſe have attempted to treat the reſt in the ſame manner, if they had not oppoſed him by this confederacy, which the common intereſt had formed againſt him. Peuceſtes, governor of the province of Perſia, had the chief command conferred upon him, and defeated Pithon, drove him out of Media, and obliged him to go to Babylon to implore the protection of Seleucus. All the confederates were ſtill in the camp after this victory, when the deputies from Eumenes arrived, and they immediately marched from Suſa to join him: not that they were really devoted to the royal party, but becauſe they were more apprehenſive than ever, of being ſubjected to the victorious Antigonus, who was then at the head of a powerful army, and either diveſted of their employments all ſuch governors as he ſuſpected, or reduced them to the ſtate of mere officers, liable to be removed and puniſhed at his pleaſure.

They joined Eumenes, therefore, with all their forces, which compoſed an army of above twenty thouſand men. With this re-enforcement, he ſaw himſelf not only in a condition to oppoſe Antigonus, who was then advancing to him, but ſtill much ſuperior in the number of his troops. The ſeaſon was far advanced, when Antigonus arrived at the banks of the Tygris, and was obliged to take winter-quarters in Meſopotamia; where, with Seleucus and Pithon, who were then of his party, he concerted meaſures for the operations of the next campaign. A. M. 3687. Ant. J. C. 317.

[x] During theſe tranſactions, Macedonia was the ſcene of a great revolution. Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great, whom Polyſperchon had recalled, had made herſelf abſolute miſtreſs of affairs, and cauſed Aridæus, or Philip, who had enjoyed the title of king for ſix years and four months, to be put to death. Eurydice his conſort ſuſtained the ſame fate; for Olympias ſent her a dagger, a cord, and a

[x] Diod. l. xix. p. 659, 660.

bowl of poiſon, and only allowed her the liberty of chooſing her death. She accordingly gave the preference to the cord, and then ſtrangled herſelf, after ſhe had uttered a thouſand imprecations againſt her enemy and murdereſs. Nicanor, the brother of Caſſander, and a hundred of the principal friends of this latter, likewiſe ſuffered death.

Theſe repeated barbarities did not long remain unpuniſhed. Olympias had retired to Pydna with the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, with Theſſalonica, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great, and Decidamia, the daughter of Æacides King of Epirus, and ſiſter of Pyrrhus. Caſſander did not loſe any time, but advanced thither, and beſieged them by ſea and land. Æacides prepared to aſſiſt the princeſſes, and was already upon his march; but the greateſt part of his forces, who were averſe to that expedition, revolted from the king, and condemned him to baniſhment, when they returned to Epirus. They likewiſe maſſacred all his friends; and Pyrrhus, the ſon of Æacides, who was then but an infant, would have ſuffered the ſame fate, if a ſet of faithful domeſtics had not happily withdrawn him from their rage. Epirus then declared in favour of Caſſander, who ſent Lyſciſcus thither to take upon him the government in his name. Olympias had then no recourſe but only from Polyſperchon, who was then in Perrhœbia, a ſmall province on the confines of Ætolia, and was preparing to ſuccour her; but Caſſander ſent Callas, one of his generals againſt him, who corrupted the greateſt part of his troops, and obliged him to retire into Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he beſieged him. Olympias who had ſupported all the miſeries of famine with an invincible courage, having now loſt all hopes of relief, was compelled to ſurrender at diſcretion.

Caſſander, in order to deſtroy her in a manner that might give the leaſt offence, prompted the relations of the principal officers, whom Olympias had cauſed to be ſlain during her regency, to accuſe her in the aſſembly of the Macedonians, and to ſue for vengeance for the cruelties ſhe had committed. The requeſt of theſe perſons was granted; and when they had all been heard, ſhe was condemned to die, though abſent, and no one interpoſed his good offices in her defence. After ſentence of death had paſſed, Caſſander propoſed to

her, by ſome friends, to retire to Athens, promiſing to accommodate her with a galley to convey her thither, whenever ſhe ſhould be ſo diſpoſed. His intention was to deſtroy her in her paſſage by ſea, and to publiſh through all Macedonia, that the gods, amidſt their diſpleaſure at her horrible cruelties, had abandoned her to the mercy of the waves: for he was apprehenſive of a retaliation from the Macedonians, and was, therefore, deſirous of caſting upon Providence all the odious circumſtances of his own perfidy.

Olympias, whether ſhe had been advertiſed of Caſſander's deſign, or whether ſhe was actuated by ſentiments of grandeur, ſo natural to perſons of her rank, imagined her preſence alone would calm the ſtorm, and anſwered, with an imperious air, that ſhe was not a woman who would have recourſe to flight, and inſiſted on pleading her own cauſe in the public aſſembly; adding, this was the leaſt favour that could be granted a Queen, or rather, that it was an act of juſtice, which could not be refuſed to perſons of the loweſt rank. Caſſander had no inclination to conſent to this demand, having reaſon to be apprehenſive, that the remembrance of Philip and Alexander, for whom the Macedonians retained the utmoſt veneration, would create a ſudden change in their reſolutions, he, therefore, ſent two hundred ſoldiers entirely devoted to his will, with orders to deſtroy her: but as reſolute as they were in themſelves, they were incapable of ſupporting the air of majeſty which appeared in the eyes and aſpect of that princeſs; and retired without executing their commiſſion. It became neceſſary, therefore, to employ in this murder, the relations of thoſe whom ſhe had cauſed to ſuffer death; and they were tranſported at the opportunity of gratifying their vengeance in making their court to Caſſander. Thus periſhed the famous Olympias, the daughter, the ſiſter, the wife, and the mother of kings, and who really merited ſo tragical a period of her days, in conſequence of all her crimes and cruelties; but it is impoſſible to ſee her periſh in this manner, without deteſting the wickedneſs of a prince who deprived her of life in ſo unworthy a manner.

[y] Caſſander already beheld an aſſured paſſage to the Macedonian throne opened to his ambition; but he thought it

[y] Diod. l. xix. 695—697.

incumbent on him to have recourſe to other meaſures, in order to ſecure himſelf againſt the viciſſitudes of time, the inconſtancy of the Macedonians, and the jealouſy of his competitors. Theſſalonica, the ſiſter of Alexander the Great, being qualified by her illuſtrious birth, and authority in Macedonia, to conciliate to him the friendſhip of the grandees, and people of that kingdom, he hoped, by eſpouſing her, to attach them in a peculiar manner to himſelf, in conſequence of the eſteem and reſpect they teſtified for the royal family.

There was ſtill one obſtacle more to be ſurmounted, without which Caſſander would have always been deemed an uſurper, and a tyrant. The young prince Alexander, the ſon of Alexander the Great, by Roxana, was ſtill living, and had been acknowledged King, and the lawful heir to the throne. It became neceſſary, therefore, to remove this prince and his mother out of the way. Caſſander,* emboldened by the ſucceſs of his former crime, was determined to commit a ſecond, from whence he expected to derive all the fruit of his hopes. Prudence, however, made it neceſſary for him to ſound the diſpoſition of the Macedonians, with reſpect to the death of Olympias; for if they ſhowed themſelves inſenſible, at the loſs of that princeſs, he might be certain that the death of the young King and his mother, would affect them as little. He, therefore, judged it expedient to proceed with caution, and advance by moderate ſteps, to the execution of his ſcheme. In order to which, he began with cauſing Alexander and Roxana to be conducted to the caſtle of Amphipolis, by a good eſcort, commanded by Glaucias, an officer entirely devoted to his intereſt. When they arrived at that fortreſs, they were diveſted of all regal honours, and treated rather like private perſons, whom important motives of ſtate made it neceſſary to ſecure.

He intended, by his next ſtep to make it evident that he claimed ſovereign power in Macedonia. With this view, and in order to render the memory of Olympias ſtill more odious, he gave orders for performing with great magnificence the funeral obſequies of King Philip, or Aridæus, and Queen Eurydice his wife, who had been murdered by

* *Haud ignarus ſumma ſcelera incipi cum periculo, peragi cum præmio.* TACIT.

the directions of Olympias. He commanded the uſage of ſuch mourning as was cuſtomary in ſolemnities of that nature, and cauſed the royal remains to be depoſited in the tombs appropriated to the ſepulture of the Macedonian Kings; affecting by theſe exteriors of diſſembled ſorrow, to manifeſt his zeal for the royal family, at the ſame time that he was meditating the deſtruction of the young King.

Polyſperchon, in conſequence of the information he received of the death of Olympias, and the exaltation of Caſſander to the throne of Macedonia, had ſheltered himſelf in Naxia, a city of Perrhœbia, where he had ſuſtained a ſiege, and from whence he retreated with a very inconſiderable body of troops, to paſs into Theſſaly, in order to join ſome forces of Æacides; after which he advanced into Ætolia, where he was greatly reſpected. Caſſander followed him cloſely, and marched his army into Bœotia, where the ancient inhabitants of Thebes were ſeen wandering from place to place, without any fixed habitation or retreat. He was touched with the calamitous condition of that city, which was once ſo powerful, and had been razed to its very foundations by the command of Alexander. After a period of twenty years, he endeavoured to re-inſtate it in its primitive ſplendor; the Athenians offered to rebuild part of the walls at their own expence, and ſeveral towns and cities of Italy, Sicily, and Greece, beſtowed conſiderable ſums on that occaſion by voluntary contributions. By which means Thebes, in a ſhort ſpace of time, recovered its ancient opulence, and became even richer than ever, by the care and magnificence of Caſſander, who was juſtly conſidered as the father and reſtorer of that city.

When he had given proper orders for the re-eſtabliſhment of Thebes, he advanced into Peloponneſus, againſt Alexander, the ſon of Polyſperchon, and marched directly to Argos, which ſurrendered without reſiſtance, upon which all the cities of the Meſſenians, except Ithome, followed that example. Alexander, terrified at the rapidity of his conqueſts, endeavoured to check them by a battle; but Caſſander, who was much inferior to him in troops, was unwilling to hazard a battle, and thought it more adviſable to retire into Mace-

donia, after he had left good garriſons in the places he had taken.

[z] As he knew the merit of Alexander, he endeavoured to diſengage him from the party of Antigonus, and attach him to his own, by offering him the government of all Peloponneſus, with the command of the troops ſtationed in that country. An offer ſo advantageous, was accepted by Alexander without any heſitation; but he did not long enjoy it, having been unfortunately ſlain ſoon after, by ſome citizens of Sicyone, where he then reſided, who had combined to deſtroy him. This conſpiracy, however, did not produce the effects expected from it; for Crateſipolis, the wife of Alexander, whoſe heart was a compoſition of grandeur and fortitude, inſtead of manifeſting any conſternation at the ſight of this fatal accident, and as ſhe was beloved by the ſoldiers, and honoured by the officers, whom ſhe had always obliged and ſerved, repreſſed the inſolence of the Sicyonians, and defeated them in a battle; after which ſhe cauſed thirty of the moſt mutinous among them to be hung up; appeaſed all the troubles which had been excited by the ſeditious in the city, re-entered it in a victorious manner, and governed it with a wiſdom that acquired her the admiration of all thoſe who heard any mention of her conduct.

A. M. 3688. Ant. J. C. 316. Whilſt Caſſander was employing all his efforts to eſtabliſh himſelf on the throne of Macedonia, Antigonus was concerting meaſures to rid himſelf of a dangerous enemy; and, having taken the field the enſuing ſpring, he advanced to Babylon, where he augmented his army with the troops he received from Pithon and Seleucus, and then paſſed the Tigris to attack Eumenes; who had neglected nothing on his part to give him a warm reception. He was much ſuperior to Antigonus in the number of his troops, and yet more in the abilities of a great commander; though the other was far from being defective in thoſe qualifications; for, next to Eumenes, he was undoubtedly the beſt general and ableſt ſtateſman of his time.

[a] Eumenes had this misfortune, that his army being compoſed of different bodies of troops, with the governors of

[z] Diod. l. xix. p. 705—708.

[a] Diod. l. xix. p. 669—672. Plut. in Eumen. p. 591, 592.

provinces at their head, each of them pretended to the command in chief. Eumenes not being a Macedonian, but a Thracian by birth, every one of thoſe governors thought himſelf, for that reaſon, his ſuperior. We may add to this, that the pomp, ſplendor, and magnificence affected by them, ſeemed to leave an infinite diſtance between him and them who aſſumed the air of real Satrapæ. They imagined, in conſequence of a miſtaken and ill-timed ambition,* but very cuſtomary with great men, that to give ſumptuous repaſts, and add to them whatever may exalt pleaſure and gratify ſenſe, were part of the duties of a ſoldier of rank; and eſtimating their own merit by the largeneſs of their revenues and expences, they flattered themſelves that they had acquired, by their means, an extraordinary credit, and a great authority over the troops, and that the army had all the conſideration and eſteem for them imaginable.

A circumſtance happened at this time, which ought to have undeceived them. As the ſoldiers were marching in queſt of the enemy, Eumenes, who was ſeiſed with a dangerous indiſpoſition, was carried in a litter, at a conſiderable diſtance from the army, to be more remote from the noiſe, and that he might enjoy the refreſhment of ſlumber, of which he had long been deprived. When they had made ſome advance, and began to perceive the enemy appear on the riſing grounds, they halted on a ſudden, and began to call for Eumenes. At the ſame time, they caſt their bucklers on the ground, and declared to their officers, that they would not proceed on their march till Eumenes came to command them. He accordingly came with all expedition, haſtening the ſlaves who carried him, and opening the curtains on each ſide of his litter: he then ſtretched out his hands to the ſoldiers, and made them a declaration of his joy and gratitude. When the troops beheld him, they immediately ſaluted him in the Macedonian language, reſumed their bucklers, claſhed upon them with their pikes, and broke forth into loud acclamations of victory, and defiance to their enemies, as if they deſired only to ſee their general at their head.

A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

* *Non deerant qui ambitione ſtolida——luxurioſos apparatus conviviorum et irritamenta libidinum ut inſtrumenta belli mercarentur.* TACIT.

[b] When Antigonus received intelligence that Eumenes was ill, and cauſed himſelf to be carried in a litter, in the rear of the army, he advanced, in hopes that his diſtemper would deliver his enemies into his hands; but when he came near enough to take a view of them, and beheld their chearful aſpects, the diſpoſition of their army, and particularly the litter, which was carried from rank to rank, he burſt into a loud vein of laughter in his uſual manner, and addreſſing himſelf to one of his officers—"Take notice," ſaid he, "of yonder litter; it is that which has drawn up thoſe troops againſt us, and is now preparing to attack us." And then, without loſing a moment's time, he cauſed a retreat to be ſounded, and returned to his camp.

Plutarch remarks, that the Macedonians made it very evident, on this occaſion, that they judged all the other Satrapæ exceedingly well qualified to give ſplendid entertainments, and diſpoſe great feaſts, but that they eſteemed Eumenes alone capable of commanding an army with ability. This is a ſolid and ſenſible reflection, and affords room for a variety of applications; and points out the falſe taſte for glory, and the injudiciouſneſs of thoſe officers and commanders, who are only ſtudious to diſtinguiſh themſelves in the army by magnificent collations, and place their principal merit in ſurpaſſing others in luxury, and frequently in ruining themſelves, without thanks, by thoſe ridiculous expences. I ſay without thanks, becauſe nobody thinks himſelf obliged to them for their profuſion, and they are always the worſt ſervants of the ſtate.

[c] The two armies having ſeparated without any previous engagement, encamped at the diſtance of three furlongs from each other, with a river and ſeveral large pools of water between them; and as they ſuſtained great inconveniences, becauſe the whole country was eaten up, Antigonus ſent ambaſſadors to the Satrapæ and Macedonians of the army of Eumenes, to prevail upon them to quit that general and join him, making them, at the ſame time, the moſt magnificent promiſes to induce their compliance. The Macedonians rejected his propoſals, and diſmiſſed the ambaſſadors, with ſevere menaces, in caſe they ſhould preſume to make any

[b] Diod. l. xix. p. 672. [c] Ibid.

ſuch for the future. Eumenes, after having commended them for their fidelity, related to them this very ancient fable: "A lion entertaining a paſſion for a young virgin, demanded "her one day in marriage of her father, whoſe anſwer was, "that he eſteemed this alliance a great honour to him, and "was ready to preſent his daughter to him; but that his large "nails and teeth made him apprehenſive leſt he ſhould employ "them a little too rudely upon her, if the leaſt difference "ſhould ariſe between them with relation to their houſehold "affairs. The lion, who was paſſionately fond of the maid, "immediately ſuffered his claws to be pared off, and his teeth "to be drawn out. After which the father caught up a ſtrong "cudgel, and ſoon drove away his pretended ſon-in-law. "This (continued Eumenes) is the aim of Antigonus. He "amuſes you with mighty promiſes, in order to make "himſelf maſter of your forces; but when he has accom-"pliſhed that deſign, he will ſoon make you ſenſible of his "teeth and claws."

[d] A few days after this event, ſome deſerters from the army of Antigonus having acquainted Eumenes, that that general was preparing to decamp the next night, about the hour of nine or ten in the evening, Eumenes at firſt ſuſpected, that his intention was to advance into the province of Gabene, which was a fertile country, capable of ſubſiſting numerous armies, and very commodious and ſecure for the troops, by reaſon of the inundations and rivers with which it abounded, and therefore he reſolved to prevent his execution of that deſign. With this view he prevailed, by ſums of money, upon ſome foreign ſoldiers, to go like deſerters into the camp of Antigonus, and acquaint him, that Eumenes intended to attack him the enſuing night. In the mean time he cauſed the baggage to be conveyed away, and ordered the troops to take ſome refreſhment, and then march. Antigonus, upon this falſe intelligence, cauſed his troops to continue under arms, while Eumenes in the mean time advanced on his way. Antigonus was ſoon informed by couriers, that he had decamped, and finding that he had been over-reached by his enemy, he ſtill perſiſted in his firſt intention; and having ordered his troops to ſtrike their tents, he

[d] Diod. l. xix. p. 672, 673.

proceeded with ſo much expedition, that his march reſembled a purſuit. But when he ſaw that it was impoſſible to advance with his whole army up to Eumenes, who had gained upon him, at leaſt ſix hours, in his march, he left his infantry under the command of Pithon, and proceeded with the cavalry, on a full gallop, and came up by break of day with the rear guard of the enemy, who were deſcending a hill. He then halted upon the top; and Eumenes, who diſcovered this body of cavalry, imagined it to be the whole army; upon which he diſcontinued his march, and formed his troops in order of battle. By theſe means Antigonus played off a retaliation upon Eumenes, and amuſed him in his turn; for he prevented the continuance of his march, and gave his own infantry ſufficient time to come up.

[e] The two armies were then drawn up; that of Eumenes conſiſted of thirty-five thouſand foot, with above ſix thouſand horſe, and a hundred and fourteen elephants. That of Antigonus was compoſed of twenty-eight thouſand foot, eight thouſand five hundred horſe, and ſixty-five elephants. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy till the night was far advanced, for the moon was then in the full, but the ſlaughter was not very conſiderable on either ſide. Antigonus loſt three thouſand ſeven hundred of his infantry, and fifty-four of his horſe, and above four thouſand of his men were wounded. Eumenes loſt five hundred and forty of his infantry, and a very inconſiderable number of his cavalry, and had above nine hundred wounded. The victory was really on his ſide; but as his troops, notwithſtanding all his intreaties, would not return to the field of battle to carry off the dead bodies, which among the ancients, was an evidence of victory, it was in conſequence attributed to Antigonus, whoſe army appeared again in the field, and buried the dead. Eumenes ſent a herald the next day, to deſire leave to inter his ſlain: This was granted him, and he rendered them funeral honours with all poſſible magnificence.

[f] A very ſingular diſpute aroſe at the performance of this ceremony. The men happened to find among the ſlain, the body of an Indian officer, who had brought his two wives with him, one of whom he had but lately married. The law

[e] Diod. l. xix. p. 673—678. [f] Diod. l. xix. 678—680.

of the country, which is ſaid to be ſtill ſubſiſting, would not allow a wife to ſurvive her huſband; and if ſhe refuſed to be burnt with him on the funeral pile, her character was for ever branded with infamy, and ſhe was obliged to continue in a ſtate of widowhood the remainder of her days. She was even condemned to a kind of excommunication, as ſhe was rendered incapable of aſſiſting at any ſacrifice, or other religious ceremony. This law, however, extended only to one wife; but in the preſent inſtance, there were two; each of whom inſiſted on being preferred to the other. The eldeſt pleaded her ſuperiority of years; to which the youngeſt replied, that the law excluded her rival, becauſe ſhe was then pregnant, and the conteſt was accordingly determined in that manner. The firſt of them retired with a very dejected air, her eyes bathed in tears, and tearing her hair and habit, as if ſhe had ſuſtained ſome great calamity. The other, on the contrary, with a mien of joy and triumph, amidſt a numerous retinue of her relations and friends, and arrayed in her richeſt ornaments, as on the day of her nuptials, advanced with a ſolemn pace, where the funeral ceremonies were to be performed. She there diſtributed all her jewels among her friends and relations; and, having taken her laſt farewel, ſhe placed herſelf on the funeral pile, by the aſſiſtance of her own brother, and expired amidſt the praiſes and acclamations of moſt of the ſpectators; but ſome of them, according to the hiſtorian, diſapproved of this ſtrange cuſtom, as barbarous and inhuman. The action of this woman was undoubtedly a real murder, and might juſtly be conſidered as a violation of the moſt expreſs law of nature, which prohibits all attempts on a perſon's own life; and commands us not to diſpoſe of it in compliance with the dictates of caprice, or forget that it is only a depoſite, which ought to be reſigned to none but that Being from whom we receive it. Such a ſacrifice is ſo far from deſerving to be enumerated among the inſtances of reſpect and amity due to her huſband, that he is rather treated as an unrelenting and bloody idol, by the immolation of ſuch precious victims.

[g] During the courſe of this campaign, the war was maintained with obſtinacy on both ſides, and Perſia and Media

[g] Diod. l. xix. p. 680—684.

were the theatre of its operations. The armies traverſed thoſe two great provinces by marches and counter-marches, and each party had recourſe to all the art and ſtratagems that the greateſt capacity, in conjunction with a long ſeries of experience in the profeſſion of war, could ſupply. Eumenes, though he had a mutinous and untractable army to govern, obtained however ſeveral advantages over his enemies in this campaign; and when his troops grew impatient for winter-quarters, he had ſtill the dexterity to ſecure the beſt in all the province of Gabene, and obliged Antigonus to ſeek his to the north in Media, where he was incapable of arriving, till after a march of twenty-five days.

[h] The troops of Eumenes were ſo ungovernable, that he could not prevail upon them to poſt themſelves near enough to each other, to be aſſembled on any emergency. They abſolutely inſiſted on very diſtant quarters, which took in the whole extent of the province, under pretence of being more commodiouſly ſtationed, and of having every thing in greater abundance. In a word, they were diſperſed to ſuch a diſtance from each other, that it required ſeveral days for re-aſſembling them in a body. Antigonus, who was informed of this circumſtance, marched from a very remote quarter, in the depth of winter, in hopes to ſurpriſe theſe different bodies ſo diſperſed.

Eumenes, however, was not a man to be ſurpriſed in ſuch a manner, but had the precaution to diſpatch, to various parts, ſpies mounted on dromedaries, the ſwifteſt of all animals, to gain timely intelligence of the enemy's motions, and he had poſted them ſo judiciouſly, that he received information of this march, before Antigonus could arrive at any of his quarters; this furniſhed him with an expedient to ſave his army by a ſtratagem, when all the other generals looked upon it as loſt. He poſted the troops who were neareſt to him on the mountains that roſe towards the quarter from whence the enemies were advancing, and ordered them, the following night, to kindle as many fires as might cauſe it to be imagined all the army were encamped in that ſituation. Antigonus was ſoon informed, by his advanced guard, that thoſe fires were ſeen at a great diſtance, upon which he concluded that Eumenes was

[h] Diod. p. 684—688. Plut. in Eumen. p. 592. Cor. Nep. c. viii—xii.

there encamped with all his forces, and in a condition to receive him. In order, therefore, not to expoſe his men, who were fatigued by long marches, to an engagement with freſh troops, he cauſed them to halt, that they might have time to recover themſelves a little; by which means Eumenes had all the opportunity that was neceſſary, for aſſembling his forces, before the enemy could advance upon him. Antigonus, finding his ſcheme defeated, and extremely mortified at being thus over-reached, determined to come to an engagement.

The troops of Eumenes being all aſſembled about him, were ſtruck with admiration at his extraordinary prudence and ability, and reſolved that he ſhould exerciſe the ſole command. Antigenes and Teutames, the two captains who led the Argyraſpides, were ſo exceedingly mortified at a diſtinction ſo glorious for Eumenes, that they formed a reſolution to deſtroy him, and drew moſt of the Satrapæ and principal officers into their conſpiracy. Envy is a malady that ſeldom admits of a cure, and is generally heightened by the remedies adminiſtered to it. All the precautions of prudence, moderation, and condeſcenſion, which Eumenes employed, were incapable of mollifying the hearts of thoſe Barbarians, and extinguiſhing their jealouſy, and he muſt have renounced his merit and virtue, which occaſioned it, to have been capable of appeaſing them. He frequently lamented to himſelf his unhappineſs in being fated to live, not with men, as his expreſſion was, but with brute beaſts. Several conſpiracies had already been formed againſt him, and he daily beheld himſelf expoſed to the ſame danger. In order to fruſtrate their effects, if poſſible, he had borrowed, on various pretexts of preſſing neceſſity, many conſiderable ſums of thoſe who appeared moſt inveterate againſt him, that he, at leaſt, might reſtrain them, by the conſideration of their own intereſt, and an apprehenſion of loſing the ſums they had lent him, ſhould he happen to periſh.

His enemies, however, being now determined to deſtroy him, held a council, in order to deliberate on the time, place, and means of accompliſhing their intentions. They all agreed to protract his fall, till after the deciſion of the impending battle, and then to deſtroy him near the ſpot where it was fought. Eudemus, who commanded the elephants, went immediately, with Phædimus, to acquaint Eumenes with

this reſolution, not from any affection to his perſon, but only from their apprehenſions of loſing the money he had borrowed of them. Eumenes returned them his thanks, and highly applauded their affection and fidelity.

When he returned to his tent, he immediately made his will, and then burnt all his papers, with the letters that had been written to him, becauſe he was unwilling that thoſe who had favoured him with any ſecret intelligence, ſhould be expoſed to any accuſation or prejudice after his death. When he had thus diſpoſed of his affairs, and found himſelf alone, he deliberated on the conduct he ought to purſue. It was then a thouſand contrary thoughts agitated his mind. Could it poſſibly be prudent in him to repoſe any confidence in thoſe officers and generals, who had ſworn his diſtruction? Might he not lawfully arm againſt them the zeal and affection of the ſoldiers, who were inviolably devoted to him? On the other hand, would it not be his beſt expedient, to paſs through Media and Armenia, and retire to Cappadocia, the place of his reſidence; where he might hope for a ſure aſylum from danger? Or, in order to avenge himſelf on thoſe traitors, would it not be better for him to abandon them in the criſis of the battle, and reſign the victory to his enemies? For in a ſituation ſo deſperate as his own, what thoughts will not riſe up in the mind of a man reduced to the laſt extremity by a ſet of perfidious traitors! This laſt thought, however, infuſed a horror into his ſoul; and as he was determined to diſcharge his duty to his lateſt breath, and to combat, to the cloſe of his life, for the prince who had armed him in his cauſe, he reſigned his deſtiny, ſays Plutarch, to the will of the gods, and thought only of preparing his troops for the battle.

He had thirty-ſix thouſand ſeven hundred foot, and above ſix thouſand horſe, with four hundred elephants. The army of Antigonus was compoſed of twenty-two thouſand foot, nine thouſand horſe, with a body of Median cavalry, and ſixty-five elephants. This general poſted his cavalry on the two wings, his infantry he diſpoſed in the centre, and formed his elephants into a firſt line, which extended along the front of the army, and he filled up the intervals between the elephants with light-armed troops. He gave the command of the left wing to Pithon; that of the right he aſſigned to his ſon Demetrius, where he was to act in perſon, at the head of a

body of choſen troops. Eumenes drew up his army almoſt in the ſame manner; his beſt troops he diſpoſed into the left wing, and placed himſelf in their front, in order to oppoſe Antigonus, and gave the command of the right to Philip.

Before the armies began the charge, he exhorted the Greeks and Barbarians to perform their duty well; for as to his phalanx, and the Argyraſpides, they ſo little needed any animating expreſſions, that they were the firſt to encourage him with aſſurances, that the enemy ſhould not wait a moment for them. They were the oldeſt troops, who had ſerved under Philip and Alexander, and were all veteran champions, whom victory had crowned in a hundred combats; they had hitherto been reputed invincible, and had never been foiled in any action; for which reaſon they advanced to the troops of Antigonus, and charged them fiercely with this exclamation; "Villains! you now fight with your fathers!" They then broke in upon the infantry with irreſiſtible fury: Not one of the battalions could ſuſtain the ſhock, and moſt of them were cut to pieces.

The event was different with reſpect to the cavalry, for as the engagement between them began on a ſandy ſoil, the motion of the men and horſes, raiſed ſuch a thick gloom of duſt, as made them incapable of ſeeing to the diſtance of three paces. Antigonus, befriended by this darkneſs, detached from his cavalry a body of troops ſuperior to that of the enemy, and carried off all their baggage, without their perceiving it, and at the ſame time broke in upon their horſe. Peuceſtus, who commanded them, and, till then, had given a thouſand proofs of true bravery, fell back, and drew all the reſt after him. Eumenes employed all his efforts to rally them, but in vain; the confuſion was univerſal in that quarter, as the advantage had been complete in the other. The capture of the baggage was of more importance to Antigonus, than the victory could be to Eumenes; for the ſoldiers of this latter, finding, at their return, all their baggage carried off, with their wives and children, inſtead of employing their ſwords againſt the enemy, in order to recover them, which would have been very practicable at that time, and was what Eumenes had promiſed to accompliſh, they turned all their fury againſt their own general.

Having choſen their time, they fell upon him, forced his

ſword out of his hand, and bound his hands behind him with his own belt. In this condition they led him through the Macedonian phalanx, then drawn up in lines under arms, in order to deliver him up to Antigonus, who had promiſed to reſtore them all their baggage on that condition. "Kill me, "O ſoldiers," ſaid Eumenes, as he paſſed by them, "kill me "yourſelves, I conjure ye in the name of all the gods! for "though I periſh by the command of Antigonus, my death "will however be as much your act as if I had fallen by your "ſwords. If you are unwilling to do me that office with "your own hands, permit me, at leaſt, to diſcharge it by "one of mine. That ſhall render me the ſervice which you "refuſe me. On this condition I abſolve you from all the "ſeverities you have reaſon to apprehend from the vengeance "of the gods, for the crime you are preparing to perpetrate "on me."

Upon this they haſtened him along to prevent the repetition of ſuch pathetic addreſſes, which might awaken the affection of the troops for their general.

Moſt of the ſoldiers of Antigonus went out to meet him, and left ſcarce a ſingle man in his camp. When that illuſtrious priſoner arrived there, Antigonus had not the courage to ſee him, becauſe his preſence alone would have reproached him in the higheſt degree. As thoſe who guarded him aſked Antigonus in what manner he would have him kept: "As you would an elephant," replied he, "or a lion," which are two animals moſt to be dreaded. But within a few days he was touched with compaſſion, and ordered him to be eaſed of the weightieſt of his chains; he likewiſe appointed one of his own domeſtics to ſerve him, and permitted his friends to ſee him, and paſs whole days in his company. They were alſo allowed to furniſh him with all neceſſary refreſhments.

Antigonus deliberated with himſelf for ſome time, in what manner he ſhould treat his priſoner. They had been intimate friends, when they ſerved under Alexander, and the remembrance of that amity rekindled ſome tender ſentiments in his favour, and combated for a while his intereſt. His ſon Demetrius alſo ſolicited ſtrongly in his favour; paſſionately deſiring, in mere generoſity, that the life of ſo great a man might be ſaved. But Antigonus, who was well acquainted with his inflexible fidelity for the family of Alexander, and

knew what a dangerous enemy he had in him, and how capable he was of diſconcerting all his meaſures, ſhould he eſcape from his hands, was too much afraid of him to grant him his life, and therefore ordered him to be deſtroyed in priſon.

Such was the end of the moſt accompliſhed man of his age in every particular, and the worthieſt to ſucceed Alexander the Great. He had not, indeed, the fortune of that monarch, but he, perhaps, was not his inferior in merit. He was truly brave without temerity; and prudent, without weakneſs. His deſcent was but mean, though he was not aſhamed of it, and he gradually roſe to the higheſt ſtations, and might even have aſpired to a throne, if he had either had more ambition or leſs probity. At a time when intrigues and cabals, ſpirited by a motive moſt capable of affecting a human heart, I mean the thirſt of empire, knew neither ſincerity nor fidelity, nor had any reſpect to the ties of blood, or the rights of friendſhip, but trampled on the moſt ſacred laws; Eumenes always retained an inviolable fidelity and attachment to the royal family, which no hopes or fears, no viciſſitude of fortune, nor any elevation, had power to ſhake. This very character of probity rendered him inſupportable to his colleagues; for it frequently happens,* that virtue creates enmities and averſions, becauſe it ſeems to reproach thoſe who think in a different manner, and places their defects in too near a view.

He poſſeſſed all the military virtues in a ſupreme degree; or, in other words, he was a complete maſter of the art of war, as well as of fortitude, foreſight, a wonderful fertility of invention for ſtratagems and reſources in the moſt unexpected dangers, and moſt deſperate conjunctures: But I place in a much nobler light, that character of probity, and thoſe ſentiments of honour, which prevailed in him, and were always inſeparable from the other ſhining qualities I have mentioned.

A merit ſo illuſtrious and univerſal, and at the ſame time ſo modeſt, which ought to have excited the eſteem and admiration of the other commanders, only gave them offence, and inflamed their envy, a defect too frequently viſible in perſons of high rank. Theſe Satrapæ, full of themſelves, ſaw with jealouſy and indignation, that an officer of no birth, but

* *Induſtriæ innocentiæque quaſi malis artibus infenſi——etiam gloria ac virtus infenſos habet, ut nimis ex propinquo diverſa argens.* TACIT.

much better qualified, and more brave and experienced than themſelves, had aſcended by degrees to the moſt exalted ſtations, which they imagined due only to thoſe who were dignified with great names, and deſcended from ancient and illuſtrious families: As if true nobility did not conſiſt in merit and virtue.

Antigonus and the whole army celebrated the funeral obſequies of Eumenes with great magnificence, and conſented to render him the utmoſt honours; his death having extinguiſhed all their envy and fear. They depoſited his bones and aſhes in an urn of ſilver, and ſent it to his wife and children in Cappadocia; poor compenſation for a deſolate widow and her helpleſs orphans!

SECT. VI. *Seleucus, Ptolemy, Lyſimachus, and Caſſander, form a confederacy againſt Antigonus. Who deprives Ptolemy of Syria and Phœnicia, and makes himſelf maſter of Tyre, after a long ſiege. Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, begins to make himſelf known in Aſia Minor. He loſes a firſt battle, and gains a ſecond. Seleucus takes Babylon. A treaty of peace between the princes is immediately broken. Caſſander cauſes the young king Alexander, and his mother Roxana, to be put to death. Hercules, another ſon of Alexander the Great, is likewiſe ſlain, with his mother Barſina, by Polyſperchon. Antigonus cauſes Cleopatra, the ſiſter of the ſame Alexander, to be put to death. The revolt of Ophellus in Libya.*

A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315.

[i] ANTIGONUS, concluding that he ſhould be maſter of the empire of Aſia for the future, made a new regulation in the eaſtern provinces, for his better ſecurity. He diſcarded all the governors he ſuſpected, and advanced to their places thoſe perſons in whom he thought he might confide. He even deſtroyed ſeveral who had rendered themſelves formidable to him by too much merit. Pithon, governor of Media, and Antigenes, general of the Argyraſpides, were among theſe latter. Seleucus, governor of Babylon, was likewiſe minuted down in his liſt of proſcriptions, but he found means to eſcape the danger, and threw himſelf under the protection of Ptolemy king of Egypt. As for the Argyraſpides,

[i] Diod. l. xix. p. 689—692, & 697, 698.

who had betrayed Eumenes, he ſent them into Arachoſia, the remoteſt province in the empire, and ordered Syburtius, who governed there, to take ſuch meaſures as might deſtroy them all, and that not one of them might ever return to Greece. The juſt horror he conceived at the infamous manner in which they betrayed their general, contributed not a little to this reſolution, though he enjoyed the fruit of their treaſon without the leaſt ſcruple or remorſe; but a motive, ſtill more prevalent, determined him chiefly to this proceeding. Theſe ſoldiers were mutinous, untractable, licentious, and averſe to all obedience; their example, therefore, was capable of corrupting the other troops, and even of deſtroying him, by a new inſtance of treachery; he therefore was reſolved to exterminate them without heſitation.

[k] Seleucus knew how to repreſent the formidable power of Antigonus ſo effectually to Ptolemy, that he engaged him in a league with Lyſimachus and Caſſander, whom he had alſo convinced by an expreſs of the danger they had reaſon to apprehend from the power of that prince. Antigonus was very ſenſible that Seleucus would not fail to ſolicit them into meaſures againſt his intereſt, for which reaſon he ſent an embaſſy to each of the three, to renew the good intelligence between them, by new aſſurances of his friendſhip. But what confidence could be repoſed in ſuch aſſurances from a perfidious man who had lately deſtroyed ſo many governors, from no inducement but the ambition of reigning alone at the expence of all his colleagues? The anſwers therefore which he received, made him ſufficiently ſenſible, that it was incumbent on him to prepare for war: Upon which he quitted the Eaſt, and advanced into Cilicia, with very conſiderable treaſures which he had drawn from Babylon and Suſa. He there raiſed new levies, regulated ſeveral affairs in the provinces of Aſia Minor, and then marched into Syria and Phœnicia. A. M. 3690. Ant. J. C. 314.

[i] His deſign was to diveſt Ptolemy of thoſe two provinces, and make himſelf maſter of their maritime forces, which were abſolutely neceſſary for him in the war he was preparing to undertake againſt the confederates. For unleſs he could be maſter at ſea, and have at leaſt the ports and veſſels of the Phœnicians at his diſpoſal, he could never expect any

[k] Diod. l. xix. p. 698—700. [i] Ibid. p. 700—703.

ſucceſs againſt them. He, however, arrived too late to ſurpriſe the ſhips; for Ptolemy had already ſent to Egypt all that could be found in Phœnicia, and it was with difficulty that Antigonus made himſelf maſter of the ports; for Tyre, Joppa, and Gaza oppoſed him with all their forces. The two laſt, indeed, were ſoon taken, but a conſiderable length of time was neceſſary for the reduction of Tyre.

However, as he was already maſter of all the other ports of Syria and Phœnicia, he immediately gave orders for building veſſels, and a vaſt number of trees were cut down, for that purpoſe, on mount Libanus, which was covered with cedar, and cypreſs-trees of extraordinary beauty and height, and they were conveyed to the different ports where the ſhips were to be built, in which work he employed ſeveral thouſand men. In a word, with theſe ſhips, and others, that joined him from Cyprus, Rhodes, and ſome particular cities with which he had contracted an alliance, he formed a conſiderable fleet, and rendered himſelf maſter of the ſea.

His ardour for this work was redoubled by an affront he had received from Seleucus, who, with a hundred ſhips that Ptolemy had ſent him, ſailed up to Tyre, in ſight of all the forces of Antigonus, with an intention to brave him whilſt he was engaged in the ſiege of that city. And in reality this inſult had greatly diſcouraged his troops, and given his allies ſuch an opinion of his weakneſs, as was very injurious to him. In order, therefore, to prevent the effect of thoſe diſadvantageous opinions, he ſent for the principal allies, and aſſured them he would have ſuch a fleet at ſea that ſummer, as ſhould be ſuperior to the naval force of all his enemies, and he was punctual to his promiſe before the expiration of the year.

A. M. 3691. Ant. J. C. 313. But when he perceived, that while he was thus employed in Phœnicia, Caſſander gained upon him by land in Aſia Minor, he marched thither with part of his troops, and left the reſt with his ſon Demetrius, who was then but twenty-two years of age, to defend Syria and Phœnicia againſt Ptolemy. This Demetrius will be much celebrated in the ſequel of this hiſtory, and I ſhall ſoon point out his particular character.

[m] Tyre was then reduced to the laſt extremities; the fleet of Antigonus cut off all communication of proviſions, and

[m] Diod. l. xix. p. 703.

the city was ſoon obliged to capitulate. The garriſon which Ptolemy had there, obtained permiſſion to march out with all their effects, and the inhabitants were promiſed the enjoyment of theirs without moleſtation. Andronicus, who commanded at the ſiege, was tranſported with gaining a place of ſuch importance on any conditions whatever; and eſpecially after a ſiege which had haraſſed his troops ſo exceedingly for fifteen months.

It was no longer than nineteen years before this event, that Alexander had deſtroyed this city, in ſuch a manner as made it natural to believe it would require whole ages to re-eſtabliſh it; and yet in ſo ſhort a time it became capable of ſuſtaining this new ſiege, which laſted more than as long again as that of Alexander. This circumſtance diſcovers the great reſources derived from commerce; for this was the only expedient by which Tyre roſe out of its ruins, and recovered moſt of its former ſplendor. This city was then the center of all the traffic of the Eaſt and Weſt.

[n] Demetrius, who now began to be known, and will for the future be ſurnamed Poliorcetes,* which ſignifies *taker of cities*, was the ſon of Antigonus. He was finely made, and of uncommon beauty. A pleaſing ſweetneſs, blended with gravity, was viſible in his aſpect,† and he had an air of ſerenity, intermixed with ſomething which carried awe along with it. Vivacity of youth in him was tempered with a majeſtic mien, and an air truly royal and heroic. The ſame mixture was likewiſe obſervable in his manners, which were equally qualified to charm and aſtoniſh. When he had no affairs to tranſact, his intercourſe with his friends was enchanting. Nothing could equal the ſumptuoſity inſeparable from his feaſts, luxury, and his whole manner of living; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that he was the moſt voluptuous and delicate of all princes. On the other hand, as alluring as all theſe ſoft pleaſures might appear to him, when he had any enterpriſe to undertake, he was the moſt active and vigilant

[n] Plut. in Demet. p. 889, 890.

* The word is derived from πολιορκειν, to beſiege a city, whoſe root is πολις, a city, and ερκος, a fence, a trench, a bulwark.

† Το γαρ αυτο χαριν ἡ βαρος, ἡ φοβον ἡ ωραν ειχε, ἡ συνεκερατο τοι νεαρω ἡ ἑταμιω δυσιμητος ὡρωικη τις επιφανεια, ἡ βασιλικη σεμνοτης.

of mankind: nothing but his patience and aſſiduity in fatigue were equal to his vivacity and courage. Such is the character of the young prince who now begins to appear upon the ſtage of action.

Plutarch remarks in him, as a peculiarity which diſtinguiſhed him from the other princes of his time, his profound reſpect for his parents, which neither flowed from affectation nor ceremony, but was ſincere and real, and the growth of the heart itſelf. Antigonus, on his part, had a tenderneſs and affection for his ſon, that was truly paternal, and extended even to familiarity, though without any diminution of the authority of the ſovereign and the father; and this created an union and confidence between them entirely free from all fear and ſuſpicion. Plutarch relates an inſtance of it to this effect. One day, when Antigonus was engaged in giving audience to ſome ambaſſadors, Demetrius, returning from the chaſe, advanced into the great hall, where he ſaluted his father with a kiſs, and then ſeated himſelf at his ſide, with his darts in his hand. Antigonus had juſt given the ambaſſadors their anſwer, but he ordered them to be introduced a ſecond time; "You may likewiſe inform your maſters," ſaid he, "of the manner in which my ſon and I live together." Intimating thereby, that he was not afraid to let his ſon approach him with arms,* and that this good intelligence, that ſubſiſted between him and his ſon, conſtituted the greateſt ſtrength of his dominions, at the ſame time that it affected him with the moſt ſenſible pleaſure. But to return to our ſubject.

• Antigonus having paſſed into Aſia, ſoon ſtopped the progreſs of Caſſander's arms, and preſſed him ſo vigorouſly, that he obliged him to come to an accommodation, on very honourable terms; but the treaty was hardly concluded before he repented of his acceſſion to it, and broke it, by demanding ſuccours of Ptolemy and Seleucus, and renewing the war. The violation of treaties was conſidered as nothing, by the generality of thoſe princes whoſe hiſtory I am now writing. Theſe unworthy expedients, which are juſtly thought diſhonourable in private perſons, appeared to thoſe

o Diod. l. xix. p. 10.

* Neither the Greeks nor Romans ever wore arms but in war, or when they hunted.

as ſo many circumſtances eſſential to their glory. They applauded themſelves for their perfidious meaſures, as if they had been inſtances of their abilities in government, and were never ſenſible that ſuch proceedings would teach their troops to be wanting in their fidelity to them, and leave them deſtitute of any pretext of complaint againſt their own ſubjects, who, by revolting from their authority, only trod in the ſame paths which they themſelves had already marked out. By ſuch contagious examples, a whole age is ſoon corrupted, and learns to renounce, without a bluſh, all ſentiments of honour and probity, becauſe that which is once become common, no longer appears ſhameful.

The renewal of this war detained Antigonus in thoſe parts longer than he intended, and afforded Ptolemy an opportunity of obtaining conſiderable advantages over him in another quarter.

[p] He firſt ſailed with his fleet to the iſle of Cyprus, and reduced the greateſt part of it to his obedience. Nicocles, King of Pathos, one of the cities of that iſland, ſubmitted to him like the reſt, but made a ſecret alliance with Antigonus, a year or two after. Ptolemy received intelligence of this proceeding, and, in order to prevent the other princes from imitating his example, he ordered ſome of his officers in Cyprus to deſtroy him; but they being unwilling to execute that commiſſion themſelves, earneſtly intreated Nicocles to prevent it by a voluntary death. The unhappy prince conſented to the propoſal, and, ſeeing himſelf utterly deſtitute of defence, became his own executioner. But though Ptolemy had commanded thoſe officers to treat the Queen Axithea, and the other princeſſes whom they found in the palace of Nicocles, with the reſpect due to their rank, yet they could not prevent them from following the example of the unfortunate King. The Queen, after ſhe had ſlain her daughters with her own hands, and exhorted the other princeſſes not to ſurvive the calamity by which their unhappy brother fell, plunged her dagger into her own boſom. The death of theſe princeſſes was ſucceeded by that of their huſbands, who, before they ſlew themſelves, ſet fire to the four corners of

[p] Ibid. l. xx. p. 761.

the palace. Such was the dreadful and bloody ſcene which was acted at Cyprus.

Ptolemy, after he once became maſter of that iſland, made a deſcent into Syria, and from thence proceeded to Cilicia, where he acquired great ſpoils, and took a large number of priſoners, whom he carried with him into Egypt. Seleucus imparted to him, at his return, a project for regaining Syria and Phœnicia, and the execution of it was agreed to be undertaken. Ptolemy accordingly marched thither in perſon with a fine army, after he had happily ſuppreſſed a revolt which had been kindled among the Cyreneans, and found Demetrius at Gaza, who oppoſed his entrance into that place. This occaſioned a ſharp engagement, in which Ptolemy was at laſt victorious. Demetrius had five thouſand of his men killed, and eight thouſand more made priſoners: he likewiſe loſt his tents, his treaſure, and all his equipage, and was obliged to retreat as far as Azotus, and from thence to Tripoli, a city of Phœnicia, on the frontiers of Upper Syria, and to abandon all Phœnicia, Paleſtine and Cœloſyria to Ptolemy.

Before his departure from Azotus, he deſired leave to bury the dead, which Ptolemy not only granted, but alſo ſent him back all his equipage, tents, furniture, friends, and domeſtics, without any ranſom, and cauſed it to be declared to him, "That they ought not to make war againſt each other for riches, but for glory;" and it was impoſſible for a Pagan to think better. May we not likewiſe ſay, that he uttered his real ſentiments? Demetrius, touched with ſo obliging an inſtance of generoſity, immediately begged of the gods not to leave him long indebted to Ptolemy for ſo great a benefaction, but to furniſh him with an opportunity of returning him one of a like nature.

Ptolemy ſent the reſt of the priſoners into Egypt, to ſerve him in his fleet, and then purſued his conqueſts. All the coaſts of Phœnicia ſubmitted to him except the city of Tyre; upon which he ſent a ſecret meſſage to Andronicus, the governor of that place, and one of the braveſt officers of Antigonus, and the moſt attached to the ſervice of his maſter; to induce him to abandon the city with a good grace, and not oblige him to beſiege it in form. Andronicus, who depended on the Tyrians' fidelity to Antigonus, returned a haughty, and

even an inſulting and contemptuous anſwer to Ptolemy; but he was deceived in his expectations, for the garriſon and inhabitants compelled him to ſurrender. He then imagined himſelf inevitably loſt, and that nothing could make a conqueror forget the inſolence with which he had treated him; but he was deceived again. The King of Egypt, inſtead of making any repriſals upon an officer who had inſulted him with ſo much indignity, made it a kind of duty to engage him in his ſervice by the regard he profeſſed for him when he was introduced to ſalute him.

Demetrius was not diſcouraged with the loſs of the battle, as a young prince who had been ſo unfortunate in his firſt enterpriſe, might naturally have been; but he employed all his attention in raiſing freſh troops and making new preparations, with all the ſteadineſs and reſolution of a conſummate general habituated to the art of war, and to the inconſtancy and viciſſitudes of arms; in a word, he fortified the cities, and was continually exerciſing his ſoldiers.

Antigonus received intelligence of the loſs of that battle, without any viſible emotion, and he coldly ſaid, "Ptolemy has defeated boys, but he ſhall ſoon have men to deal with;" and as he was unwilling to abate the courage and ardour of his ſon, he complied with his requeſt of making a ſecond trial of his forces againſt Ptolemy.

[q] Some time after this event, Cilles, Ptolemy's lieutenant, arrived with a numerous army, fully perſuaded that he ſhould drive Demetrius out of Syria; for he had entertained a very contemptible opinion of him from his defeat: but Demetrius, who had known how to derive advantages from his misfortune, and was now become more circumſpect and attentive, fell upon him when he leaſt expected it, and made himſelf maſter of his camp and all his baggage, took ſeven thouſand of his men priſoners, even ſeiſed him with his own hands, and carried off a great booty. The glory and riches Demetrius had acquired by this victory, affected him leſs than the pleaſure of being in a condition to acquit himſelf with reſpect to his enemy, and return the obligation he had received from him. He would not, however, act in this manner by his own authority, but wrote an account of the whole

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[q] Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

affair to his father, who permitted him to act as he ſhould judge proper. Upon which he immediately ſent back Cilles, with all his friends, laden with magnificent preſents, and all the baggage he had taken. There is certainly ſomething very noble in contending with an enemy in this generous manner; and it was a diſpoſition ſtill more eſtimable, eſpecially in a young and victorious prince, to make it a point of glory, to depend entirely upon his father, and to take no meaſures in ſuch a conjuncture without conſulting him.

[r] Seleucus, after the victory obtained over Demetrius at Gaza, had obtained a thouſand foot, and three hundred horſe from Ptolemy, and proceeded with this ſmall eſcort to the Eaſt, with an intention to re-enter Babylon. When he arrived at Carræ, in Meſopotamia, he made the Macedonian garriſon join his troops, partly by conſent, and partly by compulſion. As ſoon as his approach to Babylon was known, his ancient ſubjects came in great numbers to range themſelves under his enſigns, for the moderation of his government had rendered him greatly beloved in that province; whilſt the ſeverity of Antigonus was univerſally deteſted. The people were charmed at his return, and the hopes of his re-eſtabliſhment. When he arrived at Babylon, he found the gates open, and was received with the general acclamations of the people. Thoſe who favoured the party of Antigonus, retired into the caſtle; but as Seleucus was maſter of the city, and the affections of the people, he ſoon made himſelf maſter of that fortreſs, and there found his children, friends, and domeſtics, whom Antigonus had detained priſoners in that place from the retreat of Seleucus into Egypt.

It was immediately judged neceſſary to raiſe a good army to defend theſe acquiſitions, and he was hardly reinſtated in Babylon, before Nicanor, the governor of Media, under Antigonus, was upon his march to diſlodge him. Seleucus having received intelligence of his motion, paſſed the Tigris, in order to confront him, and he had the good fortune to ſurpriſe him in a diſadvantageous poſt, where he aſſaulted his camp by night, and entirely defeated his army. Nicanor was compelled to fly, with a ſmall number of his friends, and to croſs the deſerts before he could arrive at the place where

[r] Diod. p. 726—728.

Antigonus then was. All the troops, who had eſcaped from the defeat, declared for Seleucus, either through a diſſatisfaction in the ſervice of Antigonus, or elſe from the apprehenſions of the conqueror. Seleucus was now maſter of a fine army, which he employed in the conqueſt of Media and Suſiana, with the other adjacent provinces, by which means he rendered himſelf very powerful. The lenity of his government, his juſtice, equity, and humanity to all his ſubjects, contributed principally to the eſtabliſhment of his power; and he was then ſenſible how advantageous it is for a prince to treat his people in that manner, and to poſſeſs their affections. He arrived in his own territories with a handful of men, but the love of his people was equivalent to an army, and he not only aſſembled a vaſt body of them about him in a ſhort time, but they were likewiſe rendered invincible by their affection for him.

With this entry into Babylon, commences the famous Æra of the Seleucides, received by all the people of the Eaſt, as well Pagans as Jews, Chriſtians, and Mahommedans. The Jews called it the Æra of Contracts, becauſe when they were ſubjected to the government of the Syro-Macedonian Kings, they were obliged to inſert it into the dates of their contracts and other civil writings. The Arabians ſtyle it the Æra of Bicornus, intimating Seleucus thereby, according to ſome authors, who declare that the ſculptors repreſented him with two horns of an ox on his head, becauſe this prince was ſo ſtrong, that he could ſeiſe that animal by the horns and ſtop him ſhort in his full career. The two books of the Maccabees call it the Æra of the Greeks, and uſe it in their dates; with this difference, however, that the firſt of theſe books repreſents it as beginning in the ſpring, the other, in the autumn of the ſame year. The thirty-one years of the reign aſcribed to Seleucus, begin at this period. A. M. 3693. Ant. J. C. 311.

[s] Antigonus was at Celænæ, when he received intelligence of the victory obtained by his ſon Demetrius over the troops of Ptolemy; and immediately advanced to Syria, in order to ſecure all the advantages that were preſented to him by that event. He croſſed mount Taurus, and joined his ſon, whom he tenderly embraced at the firſt interview, ſhedding at the

[s] Diod. l. xix. p. 729.

ſame time tears of joy. Ptolemy, being ſenſible that he was not ſtrong enough to oppoſe the united forces of the father and ſon, reſolved to demoliſh the fortifications of Aca, Joppa, Samaria, and Gaza; after which he retired into Egypt, with the greateſt part of the riches of the country, and a numerous train of the inhabitants. In this manner was all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœloſyria, ſubjected a ſecond time to the power of Antigonus.

[t] The inhabitants of theſe provinces who were carried off by Ptolemy, followed him more out of inclination, than by any conſtraint; and the moderation and humanity with which he always treated thoſe who ſubmitted to his government, had gained their hearts ſo effectually, that they were more deſirous of living under him in a foreign country, than to continue ſubject in their own to Antigonus, from whom they had no expectations of ſo gentle a treatment. They were likewiſe ſtrengthened in this reſolution by the advantageous propoſals of Ptolemy; for, as he then intended to make Alexandria the capital of Egypt, it was very eaſy to draw the inhabitants thither, where he offered them extraordinary privileges and immunities. He, therefore, ſettled in that city moſt of thoſe who followed him on this occaſion, among whom was a numerous body of Jews. Alexander had formerly placed many of that nation there; but Ptolemy, in his return from one of his firſt expeditions, planted a much greater number in that city than Alexander himſelf, and they there found a fine country, and a powerful protection. The rumour of theſe advantages being propagated through all Judæa, rendered many more of the inhabitants deſirous of eſtabliſhing themſelves at Alexandria, and they accompliſhed that deſign upon this occaſion. Alexander had granted the Jews who ſettled there, under his government, the ſame privileges as were enjoyed by the Macedonians; and Ptolemy purſued the ſame conduct with reſpect to this new colony. In a word, he ſettled ſuch a number of them there, that the quarter inhabited by the Jews almoſt formed an entire city of itſelf. A large body of Samaritans alſo eſtabliſhed themſelves there, on the ſame footing with the Jews, and increaſed exceedingly in numbers.

[t] Joſeph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 1. & contr. Appian. l. i. & ii.

[u] Antigonus, after he had repoſſeſſed himſelf of Syria and Judæa, ſent Athenæus, one of his generals, againſt the Nabathæan Arabs, a nation of robbers, who made ſeveral inroads into the country he had newly conquered, and had lately carried off a very large booty. Their capital city was Petra, ſo called by the Greeks, becauſe it was ſituated on a high rock, in the middle of a deſert country. Athenæus made himſelf maſter of the place, and likewiſe of the ſpoils depoſited in it; but the Arabs attacked him by ſurpriſe in his retreat, and defeated the greateſt part of his troops; they likewiſe killed him on the ſpot, regained all the booty, and carried it back to Petra, from whence they wrote a letter to Antigonus, who was then in Syria, complaining of the injuſtice with which they had been treated by Athenæus. Antigonus pretended at firſt to diſapprove his proceedings; but as ſoon as he had aſſembled his troops, he gave the command of them to his ſon Demetrius, with orders to chaſtiſe the inſolence of thoſe robbers: but as this prince found it impracticable to force them in their retreat, or re-take Petra, he contented himſelf with making the beſt treaty he could with this people, and then marched back with his troops.

[x] Antigonus, upon the intelligence he received of the ſucceſs of Seleucus in the Eaſt, ſent his ſon Demetrius thither at the head of an army, to drive him out of Babylon, and diſpoſſeſs him of that province, while he himſelf advanced to the coaſts of Aſia Minor, to oppoſe the operations of the confederate princes, whoſe power daily increaſed. He likewiſe ordered his ſon to join him, after he had executed his commiſſion in the Eaſt. Demetrius, in conformity to his father's directions, aſſembled the army at Damaſcus, and marched to Babylon; and as Seleucus was then in Media, he entered the city without any oppoſition. Patroclus, who had been entruſted with the government of that city by Seleucus, finding himſelf not ſtrong enough to reſiſt Demetrius, retired with his troops into the marſhes, where the rivers, canals and fens that covered him, made the approach impracticable. He had the precaution, when he left Babylon, to cauſe the inhabitants alſo to retire from thence, who all ſaved them-

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[u] Diod. l. xix. p. 730—733. [x] Diod. p. 735, 736. Plut. in Demetr. p. 891.

ſelves; ſome on the other ſide of the Tigris, others in the deſerts, and the reſt in places of ſecurity.

Demetrius cauſed the caſtles to be attacked, of which there were two in Babylon, very large, and ſtrengthened with good garriſons on the two oppoſite banks of the Euphrates. One of theſe he took, and placed in it a garriſon of ſeven thouſand men. The other ſuſtained the ſiege till Antigonus ordered his ſon to join him. This prince, therefore, left Archælaus, one of the principal officers of the army, with a thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, to continue the ſiege, and marched with the reſt of the troops into Aſia Minor, to reinforce his father.

Before his departure, he cauſed Babylon to be plundered; but this action proved very detrimental to his father's affairs, and attached the inhabitants more than ever to Seleucus; even thoſe who, till then, had eſpouſed the intereſt of Antigonus, never imagined that the city would be treated in that manner, and looked upon this pillage as an act of deſertion, and a formal declaration of his having entirely abandoned them: This induced them to turn their thoughts to an accommodation with Seleucus, and they accordingly went over to his party; by which means Seleucus, upon his return, which immediately followed the departure of Demetrius, had no difficulty to drive out the few troops that Demetrius had left in the city, and he retook the caſtle they had poſſeſſed. When this event was accompliſhed, he eſtabliſhed his authority in ſuch a ſolid manner, that nothing was capable of ſhaking it. This therefore is the epocha to which the Babylonians refer the foundation of his kingdom, though all the other nations of Aſia place it ſix months ſooner, and in the preceding year.

[y] Demetrius, upon his arrival in Aſia Minor, obliged Ptolemy to raiſe the ſiege of Halicarnaſſus, and this event was ſucceeded by a treaty of peace between the confederate princes and Antigonus; by which it was ſtipulated, that Caſſander ſhould have the management of the Macedonian affairs, till Alexander, the ſon of Roxana, was of age to reign. Lyſimachus was to have Thrace; Ptolemy, Egypt; and the frontiers of Libya, with Arabia, and all Aſia, was allotted to Antigonus. All the cities of Greece were likewiſe to enjoy

[y] Diod. l. xix. p. 739. Plut. in Demet. p. 892.

their liberty; but this accommodation was of no long duration: and indeed it is ſurpriſing, that princes, ſo well acquainted with each other, and ſenſible that the ſacred ſolemnity of oaths was only employed for their mutual deluſion, ſhould expect any ſucceſs from an expedient that had been practiſed ſo frequently in vain, and was then ſo much in diſgrace. This treaty was hardly concluded, before each party complained of infractions, and hoſtilities were renewed. The true reaſon was, the extraordinary power of Antigonus, which daily increaſed, and became ſo formidable to the other three, that they were incapable of enjoying any ſatisfaction, till they had reduced him.

It was manifeſt that they were only ſolicitous for their own intereſt, and had no regard for the family of Alexander. The Macedonians began to be impatient; and declared aloud, that it was time for them to cauſe the young Alexander to appear upon the ſtage of action, as he was then fourteen years of age, and to bring him out of priſon, in order to make him acquainted with the ſtate of his affairs. Caſſander, who foreſaw in this proceeding, the deſtruction of his own meaſures, cauſed the young King and his mother Roxana, to be ſecretly put to death, in the caſtle of Amphipolis, where he had confined them for ſome years.

[z] Polyſperchon, who governed in Peloponneſus, took this opportunity to declare openly againſt the conduct of Caſſander, and made the people ſenſible of the enormous wickedneſs of this action, with a view of rendering him odious to the Macedonians, and entirely ſupplant him in their affections. As he had then no thoughts of re-entering Macedonia, from whence he had been driven by Caſſander, he affected an air of great zeal for the houſe of Alexander, and in order to render it apparent, he cauſed Hercules, another ſon of Alexander by Barſina, the widow of Memnon, and who was then about ſeventeen years of age, to be brought from Pergamus, upon which he himſelf advanced with an army, and propoſed to the Macedonians, to place him upon the throne. Caſſander was terrified at this proceeding, and repreſented to him, at an interview between them, that he was preparing to raiſe himſelf a maſter; but that it would be more for his intereſt

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[z] Diod. l. xx. p. 760, 761, & 766, 767.

to remove Hercules out of the way, and ſecure the ſovereignty of Greece to himſelf, offering, at the ſame time, his own aſſiſtance for that purpoſe. This diſcourſe eaſily prevailed upon him to ſacrifice the young prince to Caſſander, as he was now perſuaded that he ſhould derive great advantages from his death. Hercules, therefore, and his mother, ſuffered the ſame fate from him the next year, as Roxana and her ſon had before from Caſſander, and each of theſe wretches ſacrificed, in his turn, an heir of the crown, in order to ſhare it between themſelves.

As there was now no prince of Alexander's houſe left, each of them retained his government with the authority of a ſovereign, and were perſuaded that they had effectually ſecured their acquiſitions, by the murder of thoſe princes who alone had a lawful title to them, even congratulating themſelves for having extinguiſhed in their own minds all remains of reſpect for the memory of Alexander, their maſter and benefactor, which till then had held their hands. Who, without horror, could behold an action ſo perfidious, and, at the ſame time, ſo ſhameful and baſe! But ſuch was the inſenſibility of them both, that they were equally forward to felicitate themſelves on the ſucceſs of an impious confederacy, which ended in the effuſion of their maſter's blood. The blackeſt of all crimes never coſt the ambitious any remorſe, provided they conduce to their ends.

[a] Ptolemy having commenced the war anew, took ſeveral cities from Antigonus in Cilicia, and other parts; but Demetrius ſoon regained what his father had loſt in Cilicia; and the other generals of Antigonus had the ſame ſucceſs againſt thoſe of Ptolemy, who did not command this expedition in perſon. Cyprus was now the only territory where Ptolemy preſerved his conqueſts; for when he had cauſed Nicocles, King of Paphos, to ſuffer death, he entirely cruſhed the party of Antigonus in that iſland.

[b] In order to obtain ſome compenſation for what he had loſt in Cilicia, he invaded Pamphylia, Lycia, and ſome other provinces of Aſia Minor, where he took ſeveral places from Antigonus.

A. M. 3696. Ant. J. C. 308. [c] He then ſailed into the Ægean ſea, and made himſelf

[a] Diod. l. xx. p. 760. [b] Ibid. p. 766. [c] Ibid. p. 774, 775.

maſter of the iſle of Andros; after which he took Sicyon, Corinth, and ſome other cities.

During his continuance in thoſe parts, he formed an intimate correſpondence with Cleopatra, the ſiſter of Alexander, who had eſpouſed Alexander King of Epirus, and at whoſe nuptials Philip had been aſſaſſinated. This princeſs, after the death of her conſort, who was ſlain in the wars of Italy, had continued in a ſtate of widowhood, and, for ſeveral years, had reſided at Sardis in Lydia; but as Antigonus, who was maſter of that city, did not treat her with any extraordinary reſpect, Ptolemy made an artful improvement of her diſcontent, in order to gain her over to his intereſt. With this intention he invited her to an interview, in hopes of deriving, from her preſence, ſome advantages againſt Antigonus. The princeſs had already ſet out, but the governor of Sardis cauſed her to be ſtopped, and immediately brought back, by the command of Antigonus, and then ſecretly deſtroyed her. Antigonus, ſoon after this event, came to Sardis, where he ordered all the women, who had been inſtrumental in her murder, to be proceeded againſt.

We may here behold with admiration, how heavily the arm of the Almighty fell upon the race of Alexander, and with what ſeverity it purſued the ſmall remains of his family, and all thoſe who had the misfortune to be any way related to that famous conqueror, whoſe favour was ardently courted by all the world a few years before. A fatal curſe conſumed his whole family, and avenged upon it all the acts of violence which had been committed by that prince. GOD even uſed the miniſtration of his courtiers, officers, and domeſtics, to render the ſeverity of his judgments viſible to all mankind, who, by theſe means, received ſome kind of reparation for the calamities they had ſuffered from Alexander.

Antigonus, though he was the miniſter of the deity in the execution of his juſt decrees, was not the leſs criminal on that account, becauſe he only acted from motives of ambition and cruelty, which, in the event, filled him with all imaginable horror, and which he wiſhed he could be capable of concealing from the obſervation of mankind. He celebrated the funeral of Cleopatra with extraordinary magnificence, hoping, by this plauſible exterior, to dazzle the eyes of the public, and avoid the hatred due to ſo black a crime. But

ſo deep a ſtain of hypocriſy as this, uſually diſcovers the crime it labours to conceal, and only increaſes the juſt horror the world generally entertains for thoſe who have committed it.

This barbarous and unmanly action was not the only one that Antigonus committed. Seleucus and Ptolemy raiſed the ſuperſtructure of their power on the clemency and juſtice with which they governed their people; and, by theſe expedients, eſtabliſhed laſting empires, which continued in their families for ſeveral generations: but the character of Antigonus was of a different caſt. It was a maxim with him, to remove all obſtacles to his deſigns, without the leaſt regard to juſtice or humanity; in conſequence of which, when that brutal and tyrannical force, by which alone he had ſupported himſelf, came to fail him, he loſt both life and empire.

Ptolemy, with all the wiſdom and moderation of his government, was not ſecure from revolts. The treachery of Ophellas, governor of Libya and Cyrenaica, who formed an inſurrection much about this time, gave him a juſt inquietude, but it happened very fortunately to be attended with no ſiniſter effect. This officer had ſerved firſt under Alexander, and, after the death of that prince, had embraced the intereſt of Ptolemy, whom he followed into Egypt. Ptolemy intruſted him with the command of the army, which was intended for the reduction of Libya and Cyrenaica, provinces that had been allotted to him, as well as Egypt and Arabia, in the partition of the empire. When thoſe two provinces were ſubdued, Ptolemy conferred the government of them upon Ophellas, who, when he was ſenſible that this prince was too much engaged with Antigonus and Demetrius, to give him any apprehenſions, had rendered himſelf independent, and continued, for that year, in the peaceable enjoyment of his uſurpation.

Agathocles, King of Sicily, having marched into Africa to attack the Carthaginians, endeavoured to engage Ophellas in his intereſt, and promiſed to aſſiſt him in the conqueſt of all Africa for himſelf. Ophellas, won by ſo grateful a propoſal, joined Agathocles with an army of twenty thouſand men in the Carthaginian territories; but he had ſcarce arrived there, before the perfidious wretch, who had drawn him thither, cauſed him to be ſlain, and kept his army in his own

ſervice. The hiſtory of the Carthaginians will inform the reader, in what manner this black inſtance of treachery ſucceeded. Ptolemy, upon the death of Ophellas, recovered Libya and Cyrenaica. The wife of the latter was an Athenian lady of uncommon beauty; her name was Eurydice, and ſhe was deſcended from Miltiades. After the death of her huſband, ſhe returned to Athens, where Demetrius ſaw her the following year, and eſpouſed her.

SECT. VII. *Demetrius, the ſon of Antigonus, beſieges and takes Athens, and eſtabliſhes a democracy in that city. Demetrius Phalereus, who commanded there, retires to Thebes. He is condemned to ſuffer death, and his ſtatues are thrown down. He retires into Egypt. The exceſſive honours rendered by the Athenians to Antigonus and his ſon Demetrius. This latter obtains a great naval victory over Ptolemy, takes Salamina, and makes himſelf maſter of all the iſland of Cyprus. Antigonus and Demetrius aſſume the title of Kings after this victory, and their example is followed by the other princes. Antigonus forms an enterpriſe againſt Egypt, which proves unſucceſsful.*

[d] ANTIGONUS and Demetrius had formed a deſign to reſtore liberty to all Greece, which was kept in a kind of ſlavery by Caſſander, Ptolemy, and Polyſperchon. Theſe confederate princes, in order to ſubject the Greeks, had judged it expedient to eſtabliſh ariſtocracy in all the cities they conquered. This is the government of the rich and powerful, and correſponds, the moſt of any, with regal authority. Antigonus, to engage the people in his intereſt, had recourſe to a contrary method, by ſubſtituting a democracy, which more effectually ſoothed the inclination of the Greeks, by lodging the power in the hands of the people. This conduct was a renovation of the policy which had been ſo frequently employed againſt the Lacedæmonians, by the Athenians and Perſians, that had always ſucceeded; and it was impoſſible for it to be ineffectual in this conjuncture, if ſupported by a good army. Antigonus could not enter upon his meaſures in a better manner, than by opening the ſcene A. M. 3698. Ant. J. C. 306.

[d] Plut. in Demetr. p. 892—894.

with the ſignal of democratic liberty in Athens; which was not only the moſt jealous, but was likewiſe at the head of all the other republics.

When the ſiege of Athens had been reſolved upon, Antigonus was told by one of his friends, that if he ſhould happen to take that city, he ought to keep it for himſelf, as the key of all Greece; but he entirely rejected that propoſal, and replied, "That the beſt and ſtrongeſt key which he knew, was "the friendſhip of the people; and that Athens being in a "manner the light by which all the world ſteered, would not "fail to ſpread univerſally the glory of his actions." It is very ſurpriſing to ſee in what manner princes, who are very unjuſt and ſelf-intereſted, can ſometimes borrow the language of equity and generoſity, and are ſolicitous of doing themſelves honour, by aſſuming the appearance of virtues, to which, in reality, they are utter ſtrangers.

Demetrius ſet out for Athens with five thouſand talents, and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſhips. Demetrius Phalereus had commanded in that city for the ſpace of ten years, in the name, and under the authority of Caſſander; and the republic, as I have already obſerved, never experienced a juſter government, or enjoyed a ſeries of greater tranquillity and happineſs. The citizens, in gratitude to his adminiſtration, had erected as many ſtatues to his honour, as there are days in the year, namely, three hundred and ſixty, for, at that time, the year, according to Pliny,* was limited to this number of days. An honour like this had never been accorded to any citizen.

When the fleet of Demetrius approached, all the inhabitants prepared for its reception, believing the ſhips belonged to Ptolemy; but when the captains and principal officers, were at laſt undeceived, they immediately had recourſe to arms for their defence; every place was filled with tumult and confuſion, the Athenians being reduced to a ſudden and unexpected neceſſity of repelling an enemy, who advanced upon them without being diſcovered, and had already made a deſcent; for Demetrius had entered the port, which he found entirely open, and might eaſily be diſtinguiſhed on the deck of his galley, where with his hand he made a ſignal to the people

* Nondum anno hunc numerum dierum excedente. PLINY, l. xxxiv. c. 6.

to keep themſelves quiet, and afford him an audience. The tumult being then calmed, he cauſed them to be informed aloud by a herald, who placed himſelf at his ſide, "That his "father Antigonus had ſent him under happy auſpices, to re-"inſtate the Athenians in the poſſeſſion of their liberty; to "drive the garriſon out of their citadel, and to re-eſtabliſh "their laws, and ancient plan of government."

The Athenians, at this proclamation, caſt their bucklers down at their feet, and clapping their hands with loud acclamations of joy, preſſed Demetrius to deſcend from his galley, and called him their preſerver and benefactor. Thoſe who were then with Demetrius Phalereus, were unanimouſly of opinion, that as the ſon of Antigonus was already maſter of the city, it would be better to receive him, though they ſhould even be certain that he would not perform any one article of what he had promiſed: upon which they immediately diſpatched ambaſſadors to him with a tender of their ſubmiſſions.

Demetrius received them in a gracious manner, and gave them a very favourable audience; and in order to convince them of his good diſpoſition towards them, he gave them Ariſtodemus of Miletus, one of his father's moſt intimate friends, as an hoſtage, at their diſmiſſion. He was likewiſe careful to provide for the ſafety of Demetrius Phalereus, who, in conſequence of this revolution, had more reaſon to be apprehenſive of his citizens, than even of the enemies themſelves. The reputation and virtue of this great man had inſpired the young prince with the utmoſt reſpect for his perſon; and he ſent him with a ſufficient guard to Thebes, in compliance with his own requeſt. He then told the Athenians, that he was determined not to ſee their city; and that as deſirous as he was to viſit it, he would not ſo much as enter within the walls, till he had entirely freed the inhabitants from ſubjection, by driving out the garriſon that incroached upon their liberties. At the ſame time, he ordered a large ditch to be opened, and raiſed good intrenchments before the fortreſs of Munychia, to deprive it of all communication with the city; after which he embarked for Megara, where Caſſander had placed a ſtrong garriſon.

When he arrived at that city, he was informed, that Crateſipolis, the wife of Alexander, and Daughter of Polyſper-

chon, who was greatly celebrated for her beauty, then reſided at Patræ, and was extremely deſirous to ſee him, and be at his devotion. He therefore left his army in the territories of Megara, and having ſelected a ſmall number of perſons, moſt diſpoſed to attend him, he ſet out for Patræ; and, when he had arrived within a ſmall diſtance of that city, he ſecretly withdrew himſelf from his people, and cauſed a pavilion to be erected in a private place, that Crateſipolis might not be ſeen when ſhe came to him. A party of the enemies happening to be appriſed of this imprudent proceeding, marched againſt him when he leaſt expected ſuch a viſit, and he had but juſt time to diſguiſe himſelf in a mean habit, and elude the danger by a precipitate flight; ſo that he was on the point of being taken in the moſt ignominious manner, on account of his incontinence. The enemy ſeiſed his tent, with the riches that were in it.

The city of Megara being taken, the ſoldiers demanded leave to plunder the inhabitants; but the Athenians interceded for them ſo effectually, that the city was ſaved. Demetrius drove out the garriſon of Caſſander, and reinſtated Megara in its liberties. Stilpon,* a celebrated Philoſopher, lived in that city, and was viſited by Demetrius, who aſked him if he had not loſt any thing? "Nothing at all," replied Stilpon, "for I carry all my effects about me;" meaning by that expreſſion, his juſtice, probity, temperance, and wiſdom; with the advantage of not ranking any thing in the claſs of bleſſings, that could be taken from him. What could all the kings of the earth do in conjunction againſt ſuch a man as this, who neither deſires nor dreads any thing, and who has been taught by philoſophy, not to conſider death itſelf as a calamity?

Though the city was ſaved from pillage, yet all the ſlaves in general were taken and carried off by the conquerors. Demetrius, on the day of his return from thence, careſſed Stilpon exceedingly, and told him, that he left the city to him in an entire ſtate of Freedom. "What you ſay, my lord, is

* *Megara Demetrius ceperat, cui cognomen Poliorcetes fuit. Ab hoc Stilpon philoſophus interrogatus, num quid perdidiſſet: Nihil, inquit; omnia namque mea mecum ſunt——Habebat enim ſecum vera bona, in quæ non eſt manus injectio——Hæc ſunt, juſtitia, virtus, temperantia, prudentia; & hoc ipſum, nihil bonum putare quod eripi poſſit——Cogita . nc, an huic quiſquam facere injuriam poſſit, cui bellum, & hoſtis ille egregiam arte quaſſandarum urbium profeſſus, eripere nihil potuit.* SENEC. de Conſt. ſap. c. v. & Ep. IX.

certainly true," replied the philoſopher, "for you have not left ſo much as one ſlave in it."

Demetrius, when he returned to Athens, poſted his troops before the port of Munychia, and carried on the ſiege with ſo much vigour, that he ſoon drove out the garriſon, and razed the fort. The Athenians, after this event, intreated him with great importunity, to come and refreſh himſelf in the city; upon which he accordingly entered it, and then aſſembled the people, to whom he reſtored their ancient form of government, promiſing, at the ſame time, that his father ſhould ſend them an hundred and fifty thouſand meaſures of corn, and all neceſſary materials for building an hundred galleys, of three benches of oars. In this manner did the Athenians recover their democracy, about fourteen years after its abolition.

Their gratitude to their benefactors extended even to impiety and irreligion, by the exceſſive honours they decreed them. They firſt conferred the title of king on Antigonus and Demetrius, which neither theſe nor any of the other princes had ever had the preſumption to take till then, though they had aſſumed to themſelves all the power and effects of royalty. The Athenians likewiſe honoured them with the appellation of *tutelar deities;* and inſtead of the magiſtracy of the Archon, which gave the year its denomination, they elected a prieſt of theſe tutelar deities, in whoſe name all the public acts and decrees were paſſed. They alſo ordered their pictures to be painted on the veil, which was carried in proceſſion at their ſolemn feſtivals in honour of Minerva, called Panathenæa, and by an exceſs of adulation, ſcarce credible, they conſecrated the ſpot of ground on which Demetrius deſcended from his chariot, and erected an altar upon it, which they called the *altar of Demetrius deſcending from his chariot;* and they added to the ten ancient tribes two more, which they ſtiled, *the tribe of Demetrius*, and *the tribe of Antigonus*. They likewiſe changed the names of two months in their favour, and publiſhed an order, that thoſe who ſhould be ſent to Antigonus or Demetrius, by any decree of the people, inſtead of being diſtinguiſhed by the common title of ambaſſadors, ſhould be called Theoroi, which was an appellation reſerved for thoſe who were choſen to go and offer ſacrifices to the gods of Delphos, or Olympia, in the name of the cities. But even all theſe

honours were not ſo ſtrange and extravagant as the decree obtained by Democlides, who propoſed, " that in order to " the more effectual conſecration of the bucklers that were to " be dedicated in the temple of Apollo, at Delphos, proper " perſons ſhould be diſpatched to Demetrius, the tutelar " deity; and that after they had offered ſacrifices to him, they " ſhould inquire of this tutelar deity, in what manner they " ought to conduct themſelves, ſo as to celebrate, with the " greateſt promptitude, and the utmoſt devotion and magnifi- " cence, the dedication of thoſe offerings, and that the people " would comply with all the directions of the oracle, on that " occaſion."

The extreme ingratitude the Athenians diſcovered, in reſpect to Demetrius Phalereus, was no leſs criminal and extravagant, than the immoderate acknowledgment they had rendered to their new maſter. They had always conſidered the former as too much devoted to oligarchy, and were offended at his ſuffering the Macedonian garriſon to continue in their citadel, for the ſpace of ten years, without making the leaſt application to Caſſander for their removal: In which he, however, had only purſued the conduct of Phocion, and undoubtedly conſidered thoſe troops as a neceſſary reſtraint on the turbulent diſpoſition of the Athenians. [e] They might poſſibly imagine likewiſe, that by declaring againſt him, they ſhould ingratiate themſelves more effectually with the conqueror. But whatever their motives might be, they firſt condemned him to ſuffer death, for contumacy; and as they were incapable of executing their reſentment upon his perſon, becauſe he had retired from their city, they threw down the numerous ſtatues they had raiſed in honour of Demetrius Phalereus; who, when he had received intelligence of their proceedings, " At leaſt," ſaid he, " it will not be in their power to deſtroy that virtue in me by which thoſe ſtatues were deſerved."

What eſtimation is to be made of thoſe honours, which at one time, are beſtowed with ſo much profuſion, and as ſuddenly revoked at another; honours that had been denied to virtue, and proſtituted to vicious princes, with a conſtant diſpoſition to diveſt them of thoſe favours, upon the firſt impreſſions of diſcontent, and degrade them from their divinity

[e] Diog. Laert.

with as much precipitation as they conferred it upon them! What weakneſs and ſtupidity do thoſe diſcover, who are either touched with ſtrong impreſſions of joy when they receive ſuch honours, or appear dejected when they happen to loſe them!

The Athenians ſtill proceeded to greater extremities. Demetrius Phalereus was accuſed of having acted contrary to their laws in many inſtances during his adminiſtration, and they omitted no endeavours to render him odious. It was neceſſary for them to have recourſe to this injuſtice and calumny, as infamous as ſuch expedients were in their own nature, to eſcape, if poſſible, the juſt reproach of having condemned that merit and virtue which had been univerſally known and experienced. The ſtatues, while they ſubſiſted, were ſo many public teſtimonials, continually declaring in favour of the innocence of Demetrius, and againſt the injuſtice of the Athenians. Their own evidence then turned againſt them, and that they could not invalidate. The reputation of Demetrius was not obliterated by the deſtruction of his ſtatues; and therefore it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould appear criminal, that the Athenians might be able to repreſent themſelves as innocent and juſt; and they imagined that a ſolemn and authentic condemnation would ſupply the defect of proofs, and the regularity of forms. They did not even ſpare his friends; and all thoſe who had maintained a ſtrict intimacy with him were expoſed to inſults. Menander, that celebrated poet, from whom Terence has tranſcribed the greateſt part of his comedies, was on the point of being proſecuted, for no other reaſon than his having contracted a friendſhip with Demetrius.

There is ſome reaſon to believe, that Demetrius, after he had paſſed ſome time at Thebes, retired for refuge to Caſſander, who was ſenſible of his merit, and teſtified a particular eſteem for him, and that he continued under his protection as long as that prince lived. But as he had reaſon, after the death of Caſſander, to be apprehenſive of all things from the brutality of his ſon Antipater, who had cauſed his own mother to be deſtroyed, he retired into Egypt, to Ptolemy Soter, who had rendered himſelf illuſtrious by his liberalities, and regard to men of letters, and whoſe court was then the aſylum of all perſons in diſtreſs.

[f] His reception at that court was as favourable as poſſible; and the king, according to Ælian, gave him the office of ſuperintending the obſervation of the laws of the ſtate. He held the firſt rank among the friends of that prince; lived in affluence, and was in a condition to tranſmit preſents to his friends at Athens. Theſe were undoubtedly ſome of thoſe real friends, of whom Demetrius himſelf declared, that they never came to him in his proſperity, till he firſt had ſent for them, but that they always viſited him in his adverſity, without waiting for any invitation.

During his exile, he compoſed ſeveral treatiſes on government, the duties of civil life, and other ſubjects of the like nature. This employment was a kind of ſuſtenance to his mind,* and cheriſhed in it thoſe ſentiments of humanity, with which it was ſo largely repleniſhed. How grateful a conſolation and reſource is this, either in ſolitude, or a ſtate of exile, to a man ſolicitous of improving his hours of leiſure to the advantage of himſelf, and the public!

The reader, when he conſiders the ſurpriſing number of ſtatues erected in honour to one man, will undoubtedly beſtow ſome reflections on the ſtrange difference he diſcovers between the glorious ages of Athens, and that we are now deſcribing. A very judicious author [g] has a fine remark on this occaſion. All the recompence, ſays he, which the Athenians formerly granted Miltiades for preſerving the ſtate, was the privilege of being repreſented in a picture as the principal figure, and at the head of nine other generals, animating the troops for the battle; but the ſame people being afterwards ſoftened and corrupted by the flattery of their orators, decreed above three hundred ſtatues to Demetrius Phalereus. Such a prodigality of honours are no proofs of real merit, but the effects of ſervile adulation; and Demetrius Phalereus was culpable to a conſiderable degree, in not oppoſing them to the utmoſt of his power, if he really was in a condition to prevent their taking place. [h] The conduct of Cato was much more prudent, when he declined ſeveral marks of diſtinction which the people

[f] Ælian. l. iii. c. 17. Plut. in exil. p. 601.

[g] Cor. Nep. in Miltiad. c. vi. [h] Plut. in præc. reip. ger. p. 820.

* *Multa præclara in illo calamitoſo exilio ſcripſit, non ad uſum aliquem ſuum, quo erat orbatus; ſed animi cultus ille erat ei quaſi quidam humanitatis cibus.* Cic. de Finib. bon. & mal. l. v. n. 54.

were deſirous of granting him; and when he was aſked, one day, why no ſtatues had been erected to him, when Rome was crouded with thoſe of ſo many others, "I had much rather," ſaid he, "people ſhould inquire why I have none, than why I have any."

True honour and diſtinction, ſays Plutarch, in the place I laſt cited, conſiſted in the ſincere eſteem and affection of the people, founded on real merit and effectual ſervices. Theſe are ſentiments which are ſo far from being extinguiſhed by death, that they are perpetuated from age to age: whereas, a profuſion of honours through flattery, or the apprehenſions entertained of bad princes, and tyrants, are never known to ſurvive them, and frequently die away before them. The ſame Demetrius Poliorcetes, whom we have lately ſeen conſulted and adored like an oracle and a god, will ſoon have the mortification to behold the Athenians ſhutting their gates againſt him, for no other reaſon than the change of his fortune.

[i] Demetrius, while he continued at Athens, eſpouſed Eurydice, the widow of Ophellas. He had already had ſeveral wives, and, among the reſt, Phila, the daughter of Antipater, whom his father compelled him to marry againſt his inclinations, citing to him a verſe out of Euripides, which he changed into a parody by the alteration of one word. "Wherever fortune is, a perſon ought to marry, even againſt his inclination."* As ancient as this maxim is, it has never grown obſolete hitherto, but retains its full force, how contrary ſoever it be to the ſentiments of nature. Demetrius was ſeverely cenſured at Athens, for infamous exceſſes.

[k] In a ſhort time after this marriage, his father ordered him to quit Greece, and ſent him with a ſtrong fleet, and a numerous army, to conquer the iſle of Cyprus from Ptolemy. Before he undertook this expedition, he ſent ambaſſadors to the Rhodians, to invite them to an alliance with him againſt Ptolemy; but this attempt proved ineffectual, and they conſtantly inſiſted on the liberty of perſevering in the neutrality they had embraced. Demetrius being ſenſible that the intelligence Ptolemy maintained in Rhodes had defeated his deſign, advanced to Cyprus, where he made a deſcent, and marched

[i] Plut. in Demetr. p. 894. [k] Diod. l. xx. p. 783—789. Plut. in Demetr. p. 895—896. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 2

* Οπυ το κερδος, παρα φυσιν γαμητεον. It was δουλευτεον, a man muſt ſerve.

to Salamina, the capital of that iſland. Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy, who had ſhut himſelf up there with moſt of his troops, marched out to give him battle, but was defeated, and compelled to re-enter the place after he had loſt a thouſand of his men, who were ſlain upon the ſpot, and three thouſand more who were taken priſoners.

Menelaus, not doubting but the prince, elated with this ſucceſs, would undertake the ſiege of Salamina, made all the neceſſary preparations, on his part, for a vigorous defence; and while he was employing all his attention to that effect, he ſent three couriers poſt to Ptolemy, to carry him the news of his defeat, and the ſiege with which he was threatened; they were alſo to ſolicit him to haſten the ſuccours he demanded, and, if poſſible, to lead them in perſon.

Demetrius, after he had obtained an exact account of the ſituation of the place, as alſo of its forces, and thoſe of the garriſon, was ſenſible that he had not a ſufficient number of battering-rams, and other military machines for its reduction; and therefore ſent to Syria for a great number of expert workmen, with an infinite quantity of iron and wood, in order to make all the neceſſary preparations for aſſaulting a city of that importance; and he then built the famous engine called Helepolis, of which I ſhall give an exact deſcription.

When all the neceſſary diſpoſitions were made, Demetrius carried on his approaches to the city, and began to batter the walls with his engines; and as they were judiciouſly worked, they had all the effect that could be expected. The beſiegers, after various attacks, opened ſeveral large breaches in the wall, by which means the beſieged were rendered incapable of ſuſtaining the aſſault much longer, unleſs they could reſolve on ſome bold attempt, to prevent the attack, which Demetrius intended to make the next day. During the night, which had ſuſpended the hoſtilities on both ſides, the inhabitants of Salamina piled a vaſt quantity of dry wood on their walls, with an intermixture of other combuſtible materials, and, about midnight, threw them all down at the foot of the Helepolis, battering rams, and other engines, and then kindled them with long flaming poles. The fire immediately ſeiſed them with ſo much violence, that they were all in flames in a very ſhort time. The enemies ran from all quarters to extinguiſh the fire; but this coſt them a conſiderable time to effect, and

moſt of the machines were greatly damaged. Demetrius, however, was not diſcouraged at this diſaſter.

Ptolemy, upon the intelligence he received of his brother's ill ſucceſs in the action againſt Demetrius, cauſed a powerful fleet to be fitted out with all expedition, and advanced, as ſoon as poſſible, to his aſſiſtance. The battle for which both parties prepared, after ſome ineffectual overtures of accommodation, created great expectations of the event, not only in the generals who were then upon the ſpot, but in all the abſent princes and commanders. The ſucceſs appeared to be uncertain; but it was very apparent, that it would eventually give one of the contending parties an intire ſuperiority over the reſt. Ptolemy, who arrived with a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail, had ordered Menelaus, who was then at Salamina, to come up with the ſixty veſſels under his command, in order to charge the rear guard of Demetrius, and throw them into diſorder, amidſt the firſt heat of the battle. But Demetrius had the precaution to leave ten of his ſhips to oppoſe thoſe ſixty of Menelaus; for this ſmall number was ſufficient to guard the enterance into the port, which was very narrow, and prevent Menelaus from coming out. When this preliminary to the engagement was ſettled, Demetrius drew out his land-forces, and extended them along the points of land which projected into the ſea, that he might be in a condition, in caſe any misfortune happened, to aſſiſt thoſe who would be obliged to ſave themſelves by ſwimming; after which he ſailed into the open ſea, with an hundred and eighty galleys, and charged the fleet of Ptolemy with ſo much impetuoſity, that he broke the lines of battle. Ptolemy, finding his defeat inevitable, had immediately recourſe to flight with eight galleys, which were all that eſcaped; for of the other veſſels which compoſed his fleet, ſome were either ſhattered or ſunk in the battle, and all the others, to the number of ſeventy, were taken with their whole complements. All the remains, therefore, of Ptolemy's train and baggage, with his domeſtics, friends, and wives, proviſions, arms, money, and machines of war, on board the ſtore-ſhips which lay at anchor, were ſeiſed by Demetrius, who cauſed them to be carried to his camp.

Menelaus no longer made any oppoſition, after this battle at ſea, but ſurrendered himſelf to Demetrius, with the city,

and all his ſhips and land-forces, which laſt conſiſted of twelve hundred horſe, and twelve thouſand foot.

Demetrius exalted the glory of this victory, by his humanity and generous conduct after it. He cauſed the ſlain to be interred in a magnificent manner, and generouſly reſtored liberty to Menelaus and Lentiſcus, one the brother, and the other the ſon of Ptolemy, who were found among the priſoners: He alſo diſmiſſed them, with their friends and domeſtics, and all their baggage, without any ranſom; that he might once more return the civilities he had formerly experienced from Ptolemy, on a like occaſion, after the battle of Gaza. * With ſo much more generoſity, diſintereſtedneſs, and politeneſs, did enemies make war againſt each other in thoſe days, than we now find between friends in the ordinary commerce of life. He likewiſe ſelected out of the ſpoils, twelve hundred complete ſuits of armour, and gave them to the Athenians; the reſt of the priſoners, whoſe number amounted to ſeventeen thouſand men, without including the marines taken with the fleet, were incorporated by him into his troops; by which means he greatly re-inforced his army.

Antigonus, who continued in Syria, waited with the utmoſt anxiety and impatience for an account of a battle, by the event of which the fate of himſelf and his ſon was to be decided. When the courier brought him intelligence, that Demetrius had obtained a complete victory, his joy roſe in proportion; and all the people, at the ſame inſtant, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus immediately tranſmitted to his ſon the diadem which had glittered on his own brows, and gave him the regal title in the letter he wrote to him. The Egyptians, when they were informed of this proceeding, were alſo no leſs induſtrious in proclaiming Ptolemy king, that they might not ſeem to be dejected at their defeat, or be thought to entertain the leſs eſteem and affection for their prince. Lyſimachus and Seleucus ſoon followed their example, the one in Thrace, and the other in Babylon, and the provinces of the Eaſt; and aſſumed the title of king, in their ſeveral dominions, after they had for ſo many years uſurped the ſupreme authority there, without preſuming to

* *Tanto honeſtius tunc bella gerebantur, quam nunc amicitiæ coluntur.* JUSTIN.

take this title upon them till that time, which was about eighteen years after the death of Alexander. Caſſander alone, though he was treated as a king by the others, in their diſcourſe and letters to him, continued to write his in his uſual manner, and without affixing any addition to his name.

Plutarch obſerves, that this new title not only occaſioned theſe princes to augment their train, and pompous appearance, but alſo cauſed them to aſſume airs of pomp and loftineſs, and inſpired them with ſuch haughty impreſſions as they had never manifeſted till then; as if this appellation had ſuddenly exalted them into a ſpecies of beings different from the reſt of mankind.

[l] Seleucus had greatly increaſed his power in the oriental provinces, during the tranſactions we have been deſcribing; for after he had killed Nicanor in a battle, whom Antigonus had ſent againſt him, he not only eſtabliſhed himſelf in the poſſeſſion of Media, Aſſyria, and Babylon, but reduced Perſia, Bactriana, Hyrcania, and all the provinces on this ſide the Indus, which had formerly been conquered by Alexander. A. M. 3699. Ant. J. C. 305.

[m] Antigonus, on his ſide, to improve the victory his ſon had obtained in Cyprus, aſſembled an army of an hundred thouſand men in Syria, with an intention to invade Egypt. He flattered himſelf, that conqueſt would infallibly attend his arms, and that he ſhould diveſt Ptolemy of that kingdom, with as much eaſe as he had taken Cyprus from him. Whilſt he was conducting this great army by land, Demetrius followed him with his fleet, which coaſted along the ſhores to Gaza, where the father and ſon concerted the meaſures each of them were to purſue. The pilots adviſed them to wait till the ſetting of the Pleiades, and defer their departure only for eight days, becauſe the ſea was then very tempeſtuous; but the impatience of Antigonus to ſurpriſe Ptolemy, before his preparations were completed, cauſed him to diſregard that ſalutary advice. Demetrius was ordered to make a deſcent in one of the mouths of the Nile, whilſt Antigonus was to endeavour to open a paſſage by land, into the heart of the country; but neither the one nor the other ſucceeded in his expedition. The fleet of Demetrius ſuſtained great damage by violent ſtorms; and Ptolemy had taken ſuch effectual precautions to

[l] Appian. in Syr. p. 122, 123. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4.
[m] Diod. l. xx. p. 304—306. Plut in Demetr. p. 896, 897.

ſecure the mouths of the Nile, as rendered it impracticable to Demetrius to land his troops. Antigonus, on the other hand, having employed all his efforts to croſs the deſerts that lay between Paleſtine and Egypt, had much greater difficulties ſtill to ſurmount, and found it impoſſible to paſs the firſt arm of the Nile in his march, ſuch judicious orders had been given by Ptolemy, and ſo advantageouſly were his troops poſted at all the paſſes and avenues; but, what was ſtill more afflictive to Antigonus than all the reſt, his ſoldiers daily deſerted from him in great numbers.

Ptolemy had ſent out boats on ſeveral parts of the river where the enemies reſorted for water, and cauſed it to be proclaimed on his part, from thoſe veſſels, that every deſerter from their troops ſhould receive from him two minæ, and every officer a talent. So conſiderable a recompence ſoon allured great numbers to receive it, eſpecially the troops in the pay of Antigonus; nor were they prevailed upon by money alone, as their inclinations to ſerve Ptolemy were much ſtronger than their motives to continue under Antigonus, whom they conſidered as an old man difficult to be pleaſed, imperious, moroſe, and ſevere; whereas Ptolemy rendered himſelf amiable, by his gentle diſpoſition and engaging behaviour to all who approached him.

Antigonus, after he had hovered to no effect on the frontiers of Egypt, and even till his proviſions began to fail him, became ſenſible of his inability to enter Egypt; that his army decreaſed every day by ſickneſs and deſertion; and that it was impoſſible for him to ſubſiſt his remaining troops any longer in that country, was obliged to return into Syria, in a very ſhameful manner, after having loſt in this unfortunate expedition, a great number of his land-forces, and abundance of his ſhips.

Ptolemy, having offered a ſacrifice to the gods, in gratitude for the protection they had granted him, ſent to acquaint Lyſimachus, Caſſander, and Seleucus, with the happy event of that campaign, and to renew the alliance between them, againſt the common enemy. This was the laſt attack he had to ſuſtain for the crown of Egypt, and it greatly contributed to fix it upon his head, in conſequence of the prudent meaſures he purſued. Ptolemy, the aſtronomer, therefore fixed the commencement of his reign at this period,

and afterwards points out the ſeveral years of its duration, in his chronological canon. He begins the Epocha on the ſeventh of November, and nineteen years after the death of Alexander the Great.

SECT. VIII. *Demetrius forms the ſiege of Rhodes, which he raiſes a year after, by concluding a treaty to the honour of the city. Helepolis, a famous machine. The Coloſſus of Rhodes. Protogenes, a celebrated painter, ſpared during the ſiege.*

[n] ANTIGONUS was almoſt fourſcore years of age at that time, and as he had then contracted a groſs habit of body, and conſequently was but little qualified for the activity of a military life, he made uſe of his ſon's ſervices, who, by the experience he had already acquired, and the ſucceſs which attended him, tranſacted the moſt important affairs with great ability. The father, for this reaſon, was not offended at his expenſive luxury and intemperance; for Demetrius, during peace, abandoned himſelf to the greateſt exceſſes of all kinds, without the leaſt regard to decorum. In times of war, indeed, he acted a very different part; he was then a quite different man, vigilant, active, laborious, and invincible to fatigues. Whether he gave into pleaſure, or applied to ſerious affairs, he entirely devoted himſelf to the one or the other; and for the time he engaged in either was incapable of moderation. He had an inventive genius; and it may be juſtly ſaid, that curioſity, and a fine turn of mind for the ſciences, were inſeparable from him. He never employed his natural induſtry in frivolous and inſignificant amuſements, like many other kings, ſome of whom, as Plutarch obſerves, valued themſelves for their expertneſs in playing on inſtruments, others in painting, and ſome in their dexterity in the turner's art, with an hundred other qualities of private men, but not one of a prince. His application to the mechanic arts had ſomething great and truly royal in it; his gallies, with five benches of oars, were the admiration of his enemies, who beheld them ſailing along their coaſts; and his engines called *helepoles*, were a ſurpriſing ſpectacle to thoſe

A. M. 3700. Ant. J. C. 304.

[n] Diod. l. xx. p. 819—885, & 817—825. Plut. in Demetr. p. 897, & 898.

whom he beſieged. They were exceedingly uſeful to him in the war with Rhodes, with the conduct of which his father had charged him at the time we are now ſpeaking of.

Among the iſlands called Sporades, Rhodes held the firſt rank, as well for the fertility of its ſoil, as the ſafety of its ports and roads, which, on that account, were reſorted to by great numbers of trading ſhips from all parts. It then formed a ſmall, but very powerful ſtate, whoſe friendſhip was courted by all princes, and who was ſtudious, on its own part, to oblige them, by obſerving an exact neutrality, and carefully declining any declaration in favour of one againſt another, in the wars that aroſe in thoſe times. As the inhabitants were limited to a little iſland, all their power flowed from their riches, and their riches from their commerce, which it was their capital intereſt to preſerve as free as poſſible with the Mediterranean ſtates, which all contributed to their proſperity. The Rhodians, by perſiſting in ſo prudent a conduct, had rendered their city very flouriſhing; and as they enjoyed continual peace, they became extremely opulent. Notwithſtanding the ſeeming neutrality they maintained, their inclination, as well as their intereſt, ſecretly attached them to Ptolemy, becauſe the principal and moſt advantageous branches of their commerce flowed from Egypt. When Antigonus, therefore, demanded ſuccours of them in his war with Cyprus, they entreated him not to compel them to declare againſt Ptolemy, their ancient friend and ally; but this anſwer, as prudent and well-concerted as it really was, drew upon them the diſpleaſure of Antigonus, which he expreſſed in the ſevereſt menaces; and, when he returned from his expedition to Egypt, he ſent his ſon Demetrius, with a fleet and army, to chaſtiſe their inſolent temerity, as he termed it, and likewiſe to reduce them to his obedience.

The Rhodians, who foreſaw the impending ſtorm, had ſent to all the princes their allies, and to Ptolemy in particular, to implore their aſſiſtance, and cauſed it to be repreſented to the latter, that their attachment to his intereſt had drawn upon them the danger to which they were then expoſed.

The preparations on each ſide were immenſe. Demetrius arrived before Rhodes with a very numerous fleet, for he had two hundred ſhips of war of different dimenſions; and more than a hundred and ſeventy tranſports, which carried

about forty thouſand men, without including the cavalry, and the ſuccours he received from pirates. He had likewiſe near a thouſand ſmall veſſels laden with proviſions, and all other neceſſary accommodations for an army. The expectation of the vaſt booty to be acquired by the capture of ſo rich a city as Rhodes, had allured great numbers of ſoldiers to join Demetrius in this expedition. This prince, who had the moſt fertile and inventive genius that ever was, for attacking places, and forming machines of war, had brought with him an infinite number of the latter. He was ſenſible that he had to deal with a brave people, and very able commanders, who had acquired great experience in maritime affairs; and that the beſieged had above a hundred military machines almoſt as formidable as his own.

Demetrius, upon his arrival at the iſland, landed in order to take a view of the moſt commodious ſituation for aſſaulting the place. He likewiſe ſent out parties to lay the country waſte on all ſides, and, at the ſame time, cauſed another body of his troops to cut down the trees, and demoliſh the houſes in the parts adjacent to Rhodes, and then employed them as materials to fortify his camp with a triple paliſade.

The Rhodians, on their part, prepared for a vigorous defence. All perſons of merit, and reputation for military affairs, in the countries in alliance with the Rhodians, threw themſelves into the city, as much for the honour of ſerving a republic, equally celebrated for its gratitude and the courage of its citizens, as to manifeſt their own fortitude and abilities in the defence of that place, againſt one of the greateſt captains, and the moſt expert in the conduct of ſieges, that antiquity ever produced.

They began with diſmiſſing from the city all ſuch perſons as were uſeleſs; and the number of thoſe who were capable of bearing arms, amounted to ſix thouſand citizens, and a thouſand ſtrangers. Liberty, and the right of deniſons, were promiſed to ſuch ſlaves as ſhould diſtinguiſh themſelves by their bravery, and the public engaged to pay the maſters the full price for each of them. It was likewiſe publicly declared, that the citizens would beſtow an honourable interment on thoſe who ſhould loſe their lives in any engagement, and would alſo provide for the ſubſiſtence of their parents, wives, and children, and portion the daughters in mar-

riage; and that when the ſons ſhould be of age capable of bearing arms, they ſhould be preſented with a complete ſuit of armour, on the public theatre, at the great ſolemnity of the Bacchanalians.

This decree kindled an incredible ardour in all ranks of men. The rich came in crowds with money to defray the expence of the ſiege, and the ſoldiers' pay. The workmen redoubled their induſtry in making arms that were excellent, as well for the promptitude of execution, as the beauty of work. Some were employed in making catapultas and baliſtas; others formed different machines equally neceſſary; a third claſs repaired the breaches of the walls; while ſeveral others ſupplied them with ſtone. In a word, every thing was in motion throughout the city; each ſtriving with emulation to diſtinguiſh himſelf on that occaſion; ſo that a zeal ſo ardent and univerſal was never known before.

The beſieged firſt ſet out three good ſailors againſt a ſmall fleet of ſuttlers and merchants, who ſupplied the enemy with proviſions: they ſunk a great number of their veſſels, burnt ſeveral, and carried into the city ſuch of the priſoners who were in a condition to pay their ranſom. The Rhodians gained a conſiderable ſum of money by this expedition; for it was mutually agreed, that a thouſand drachmas (about five-and-twenty pounds) ſhould be paid for every perſon that was a freeman, and half the ſum for a ſlave.

The ſiege of Rhodes has been repreſented as the maſterpiece of Demetrius, and the greateſt inſtance of the fertility of his genius in reſources and inventions. He began the attack from the ſea, in order to make himſelf maſter of the port, and the towers which defended the entrance.

In order to accompliſh this deſign, he cauſed two tortoiſes to be erected on two flat prahms or barks joined together, to facilitate his approach to the places he intended to batter. One of theſe was ſtronger and more ſolid than the other, in order to cover the men from thoſe enormous maſſes which the beſieged diſcharged from the towers and walls, with the catapultas planted upon them; the other was of a lighter ſtructure, and deſigned to ſhelter the ſoldiers from flights of darts and arrows. Two towers of four ſtories were erected at the ſame time, which exceeded in height the towers that defended the entrance into the port, and which were intended

to be uſed in battering the latter with vollies of ſtones and darts. Each of theſe towers were placed upon two ſhips ſtrongly bound together.

Demetrius, beſides theſe tortoiſes and towers, cauſed a kind of floating barricado to be erected on a long beam of timber, four feet thick, through which ſtakes, armed at the end with large points of iron, were driven. Theſe ſtakes were diſpoſed horizontally, with their ſpikes projecting forward, in order to prevent the veſſels of the port from ſhattering the work with their beaks.

He likewiſe ſelected out of his fleet the largeſt veſſels, on the ſide of which he erected a rampart of planks with little windows, eaſy to be opened. He there placed the beſt Cretan archers and ſlingers in all his army, and furniſhed them with an infinite number of bows, ſmall baliſtas, or croſs-bows, and catapultas, with other engines for ſhooting; in order to gall the workmen of the city employed in raiſing and repairing the walls of the port.

The Rhodians ſeeing the beſiegers turn all their efforts againſt that quarter, were no leſs induſtrious to defend it; in order to accompliſh that deſign, they raiſed two machines upon an adjoining eminence, and formed three others, which they placed on large ſhips of burden, at the mouth of the little haven. A body of archers and ſlingers was likewiſe poſted on each of theſe ſituations, with a prodigious quantity of ſtones, darts, and arrows of all kinds. The ſame orders were alſo given, with reſpect to the ſhips of burden in the great port.

When Demetrius advanced with his ſhips and all their armament, to begin the attack on the ports, ſuch a violent tempeſt aroſe, as rendered it impoſſible for him to accompliſh any of his operations that day; but the ſea growing calm about night, he took the advantage of the darkneſs, and advanced, without being perceived by the enemy, to the grand port, where he made himſelf maſter of a neighbouring eminence, about five hundred paces from the wall, where he poſted four hundred ſoldiers, who fortified themſelves immediately with good paliſades.

The next morning, Demetrius cauſed his batteries to advance with the ſound of trumpets, and the ſhouts of his whole army; and they at firſt produced all the effect he pro-

poſed from them. A great number of the beſieged were ſlain in this attack, and ſeveral breaches were opened in the mole which covered the port: but they were not very advantageous to the beſiegers, who were always repulſed by the Rhodians; and the loſs being almoſt equal on both ſides, Demetrius was obliged to retire from the port with his ſhips and machines, to be out of the reach of the enemy's arrows.

The beſieged, who had been inſtructed at their own expence, in what manner the night was capable of being improved, cauſed ſeveral fire-ſhips to ſail out of the port, during the darkneſs, in order to burn the tortoiſes and wooden towers which the enemy had erected; but as they had the misfortune to be incapable of forcing the floating barricado, they were obliged to return into the port. The Rhodians loſt ſome of their fire-ſhips in this expedition, but the mariners ſaved themſelves by ſwimming.

The next day, the prince ordered a general attack to be made againſt the port, and the walls of the place, with the ſound of trumpets, and the ſhouts of his whole army, thinking by thoſe means to ſpread terror among the beſieged: but they were ſo far from being intimidated, that they ſuſtained the attack with incredible vigour, and diſcovered the ſame intrepidity for the ſpace of eight days that it continued; and actions of aſtoniſhing bravery were performed on both ſides during that long period.

Demetrius, taking advantage of the eminence which his troops had ſeiſed, gave orders for erecting upon it a battery of ſeveral engines, which diſcharged great ſtones of an hundred and fifty pounds in weight, againſt the walls and towers, the latter of which tottered with the repeated ſhocks, and ſeveral breaches were ſoon made in the walls. The beſiegers then made a furious advance to ſeiſe the moles which defended the entrance into the port; but as this poſt was of the laſt importance to the Rhodians, they ſpared no pains to repulſe the beſiegers, who had already made a conſiderable progreſs. This they at laſt effected, by a ſhower of ſtones and arrows, which they diſcharged upon their enemies with ſo much rapidity, and for ſuch a length of time, that they were obliged to retire in confuſion, after loſing a great number of their men.

The ardour of the beſiegers was not diminiſhed by this repulſe, and they rather appeared more animated than ever

againſt the Rhodians. They began the ſcalade by land and ſea at the ſame time, and employed the beſieged ſo effectually, that they ſcarce knew whither to run for the defence of the place. The attack was carried on with the utmoſt fury on all ſides, and the beſieged defended themſelves with the greateſt intrepidity. Great numbers were thrown from the ladders to the earth, and miſerably bruiſed; ſeveral, even of the principal officers, got to the top of the wall, were they were covered with wounds, and taken priſoners by the enemy; ſo that Demetrius, notwithſtanding all his valour, thought it neceſſary to retreat, in order to repair his engines, which were almoſt entirely deſtroyed by ſo many attacks, as well as the veſſels that carried them.

After the prince had retreated from Rhodes, immediate care was taken to bury the dead; the beaks alſo of the ſhips, with the other ſpoils that had been taken from the enemy, were carried to the temple, and the workmen were indefatigable in repairing the breaches of the walls.

Demetrius having employed ſeven days in refitting his ſhips, and repairing his engines, ſet ſail again, with a fleet as formidable as the former, and ſteered, with a fair wind, directly for the port, which employed his attention moſt, as he conceived it impracticable to reduce the place till he had firſt made himſelf maſter of that. Upon his arrival, he cauſed a vaſt quantity of lighted torches, flaming ſtraw, and arrows to be diſcharged, in order to ſet fire to the veſſels that were riding there, while his engines battered the mole without intermiſſion. The beſieged, who expected attacks of this nature, exerted themſelves with ſo much vigour and activity, that they ſoon extinguiſhed the flames, which had ſeiſed the veſſels of the port.

At the ſame time they cauſed three of their largeſt ſhips to ſail out of the port, under the command of Exaceſtes, one of their braveſt officers, with orders to attack the enemy, and uſe all poſſible means to join the veſſels that carried the tortoiſes and wooden towers, and to charge them in ſuch a manner with the beaks of theirs, as might either ſink them, or render them entirely uſeleſs. Theſe orders were executed with a ſurpriſing expedition and addreſs; and the three gallies, after they had ſhattered and broke through the floating barri-

cado already mentioned, drove their beaks with ſo much violence into the ſides of the enemy's barks, on which the machines were erected, that the water was immediately ſeen to flow into them through ſeveral openings. Two of them were already ſunk, but the third was towed along by the gallies, and joined the main fleet; and as dangerous as it was to attack them in that ſituation, the Rhodians, through a blind and precipitate ardour, had the courage to attempt it. But as the inequality was too great to admit them to come off with ſucceſs, Exaceſtes, with the officer who commanded under him, and ſome others, after having fought with all the bravery imaginable, were taken with the galley in which they were; the other two regained the port, after ſuſtaining many dangers, and moſt of the men alſo arrived there by ſwimming.

As unfortunate as this laſt attack had proved to Demetrius, he was determined to undertake another himſelf; and, in order to ſucceed in that deſign, he ordered a machine of a new invention to be built, of thrice the height and breadth of thoſe he had lately loſt. When this was completed, he cauſed it to be placed near the port which he was reſolved to force; but at the inſtant they were preparing to work it, a dreadful tempeſt aroſe at ſea, and ſunk it to the bottom, with the veſſels on which it had been raiſed.

The beſieged, who were attentive to improve all favourable conjunctures, employed the time, afforded them by the continuance of the tempeſt, in regaining the eminence near the port, which the enemy had carried in the firſt aſſault, and where they afterwards fortified themſelves. The Rhodians attacked it, and were repulſed ſeveral times; but the forces of Demetrius, who defended it, perceiving freſh troops continually pouring upon them, and that it was in vain for them to expect any relief, were obliged, at laſt, to ſurrender themſelves priſoners, to the number of four hundred men.

This ſeries of fortunate events was ſucceeded by the arrival of five hundred men from Cnoſſus, a city of Crete, to the aſſiſtance of the Rhodians, and alſo of five hundred more whom Ptolemy ſent from Egypt, moſt of them being Rhodians, who had liſted themſelves among the troops of that prince.

Demetrius, being extremely mortified to ſee all his batteries at the port rendered ineffectual, reſolved to employ them by land, in order to carry the place by aſſault, or reduce it to

the neceſſity of capitulating. He, therefore, prepared materials of every kind, and formed them into a machine called *helepolis*, and which was larger than any that had ever been invented before. The baſis on which it ſtood was ſquare, and each of its ſides had an extent of ſeventy-five feet. The machine itſelf was an aſſemblage of large ſquare beams, rivetted together with iron, and the whole maſs reſted upon eight wheels that were made proportionable to the ſuperſtructure. The jaunts of theſe wheels were three feet thick, and ſtrengthened with large iron plates.

In order to facilitate and vary the movements of the helepolis, care had been taken to place caſters * under it, whoſe volubility rendered the machine moveable any way.

From each of the four angles a large column of wood was carried up to the height of about one hundred and fifty feet, and mutually inclining to each other. The machine was compoſed of nine ſtories, whoſe dimenſions gradually leſſened in the aſcent. The firſt ſtory was ſupported by forty-three beams, and the laſt by no more than nine.

Three ſides of the machine were plated over with iron, to prevent its being damaged by the fires that were launched from the city.

In the front of each ſtory were little windows, whoſe form and dimenſions correſponded with the nature of the arrows that were to be ſhot from the machine. Over each window was a kind of curtain made with leather, ſtuffed with wool: this was let down by a machine for that purpoſe, and the intention of it was to break the force of whatever ſhould be diſcharged by the enemy againſt it.

Each ſtory had two large ſtair-caſes, one for the aſcent of the men, and the other for their deſcent.

This machine was moved forwards by three thouſand of the ſtrongeſt and moſt vigorous men in the whole army, but the art with which it was built greatly facilitated the motion.

Demetrius alſo gave directions for building a great number

* Monſ. Rollin informs us in a note, that he was obliged to retain the Greek term *(Antiſtrepta)* for want of a proper French word to render it by; but as the Engliſh language is not ſo defective in that particular, the tranſlator has expreſſed the Greek by the word *caſter*, which, as well as the original word, ſignifies a wheel placed under a piece of work, in ſuch a manner as to render it convertible on all ſides, like thoſe little wheels affixed under the feet of beds, by which they move with eaſe to any part of a room.

of other machines, of different magnitudes; and for various uſes; he alſo employed his ſeamen in levelling the ground over which the machines were no move, which was an hundred fathoms. The number of artiſans and others, employed on theſe works, amounted to near thirty thouſand men, by which means they were finiſhed with incredible expedition.

The Rhodians were not indolent during theſe formidable preparations, but employed their time in raiſing a counter-wall, on the tract of ground where Demetrius intended to batter the walls of the city with the helepolis; and, in order to accompliſh this work, they demoliſhed the wall which ſurrounded the theatre, as alſo ſeveral neighbouring houſes, and even ſome temples, having ſolemnly promiſed the gods to build more magnificent ſtructures for the celebration of their worſhip after the ſiege ſhould be raiſed.

When they knew that the enemy had quitted the ſea, they ſent out nine of their beſt ſhips of war, divided into three ſquadrons, the command of which they gave to three of their braveſt ſea-officers, who returned with a very rich booty, ſome galleys, and ſeveral ſmaller veſſels, which they had taken, as alſo a great number of priſoners. They had likewiſe ſeiſed a galley richly laden, and in which were large quantities of tapeſtry, with other furniture, and a variety of rich robes, intended by Phila as a preſent to her huſband Demetrius, and accompanied with letters which ſhe herſelf had written to him. The Rhodians ſent the whole, and even the letters, to Ptolemy, which exceedingly exaſperated Demetrius. In this proceeding, ſays Plutarch, they did not imitate the polite conduct of the Athenians, who having once ſeiſed ſome of the couriers of Philip, with whom they were then at war, opened all the packets but thoſe of Olympias, which they ſent to Philip ſealed as they were. There are ſome rules of decency and honour which ought to be inviolably obſerved, even with enemies.

While the ſhips of the republic were employed in taking the prizes already mentioned, a great commotion happened at Rhodes, with reſpect to the ſtatues of Antigonus and Demetrius, which had been erected in honour to them, and till then were held in the utmoſt veneration. Some of the principal citizens were ſolicitous, in a public aſſembly, for an order to deſtroy the ſtatues of thoſe princes who then

haraſſed them with ſuch a cruel war; but the people, who were more diſcreet and moderate on this occaſion than their chiefs, would not ſuffer that propoſal to be executed. So wiſe and equitable a conduct, excluſively of all events, did the Rhodians no ſmall honour; but ſhould their city have been taken, it could not have failed to inſpire the conqueror with impreſſions in their favour.

Demetrius having tried ſeveral mines without ſucceſs, from their being all diſcovered, and rendered ineffectual by the vigilant conduct and activity of the beſieged, gave orders, and made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a general aſſault: in order to which the helepolis was moved to a ſituation from whence the city might be battered with the beſt effect. Each ſtory of this formidable engine was furniſhed with catapultas and baliſtas proportioned in their ſize to the dimenſions of the place. It was likewiſe ſupported and fortified on two of its ſides, by four ſmall machines called tortoiſes, each of which had a covered gallery, to ſecure thoſe who ſhould either enter the helepolis, or iſſue out of it, to execute different orders. On each ſide was a battering-ram of a prodigious ſize, conſiſting of a piece of timber thirty fathoms in length, armed with iron terminating in a point, and as ſtrong as the beak of a galley. Theſe engines were mounted on wheels, and were made to batter the walls during the attack with incredible force by near a thouſand men.

When every thing was ready, Demetrius ordered the trumpets to ſound, and the general aſſault to be given on all ſides, both by ſea and land. In the heat of the attack, and when the walls were already ſhaken by the battering rams, ambaſſadors arrived from the Cnidians, and earneſtly ſolicited Demetrius to ſuſpend the aſſault, giving him hopes, at the ſame time, that they ſhould prevail upon the beſieged to ſubmit to an honourable capitulation. A ſuſpenſion of arms was accordingly granted; but the Rhodians refuſing to capitulate on the conditions propoſed to them, the attack was renewed with ſo much fury, and all the machines co-operated ſo effectually, that a large tower built with ſquare ſtones, and the wall that flanked it, were battered down. The beſieged fought like lions in the breach, and repulſed their enemies.

In this conjuncture the veſſels which Ptolemy had freighted with three hundred thouſand meaſures of corn, and different

kinds of pulſe for the Rhodians, arrived very ſeaſonably in the port, notwithſtanding all the efforts of the enemies' ſhips which cruiſed in the neighbourhood to intercept them. A few days after this relief, two other ſmall fleets ſailed into the port; one was ſent by Caſſander, with one hundred thouſand buſhels of barley; the other came from Lyſimachus with four hundred thouſand buſhels of corn, and as much barley. This ſeaſonable and abundant ſupply, which was received when the city began to be in want of proviſions, inſpired the beſieged with new courage, and they reſolved not to ſurrender till the laſt extremity.

While they were animated in this manner, they attempted to fire the enemies' machines, and with this view, ordered a body of ſoldiers to march out of the city, that following midnight, with torches, and all kinds of kindled wood. Theſe troops advanced to the batteries, and ſet them on fire, and at the ſame time innumerable arrows were ſhot from the wall, to ſupport the detachment againſtth oſe who ſhould endeavour to extinguiſh the flames. The beſiegers loſt great numbers of their men on this occaſion, becauſe they were incapable, amidſt the obſcurity of the night, either to ſee, or avoid the vollies of arrows diſcharged upon them. Several plates of iron happening to fall from the helepolis, during the conflagration, the Rhodians advanced with impetuoſity, in order to ſet it on fire: but as the troops within that moving tower quenched it with water as faſt as the flames were kindled, they could not effect their deſign. However, Demetrius was apprehenſive that all his machines would be conſumed; to prevent which, he cauſed them to be removed with all poſſible expedition.

Demetrius, being curious to know what number of machines the beſieged had employed in caſting arrows, cauſed all thoſe, which had been ſhot from the place in the attack that night, to be gathered up; and when theſe were counted, and a proper computation made, he became ſenſible that the inhabitants muſt have more than eight hundred engines of different dimenſions, for diſcharging fires, and about fifteen hundred for arrows. The prince was ſtruck with conſternation at this number, as he did not imagine the city could have made ſuch formidable preparations. He cauſed his dead to be interred, gave directions for curing thoſe who were

wounded, and was as expeditious as poſſible in repairing the machines which had been diſmounted and rendered uſeleſs.

The beſieged, in order to improve the relaxation they enjoyed by the removal of the machines, were induſtrious to fortify themſelves againſt the new aſſault, for which their enemies were then preparing. To this purpoſe they began with opening a large and deep ditch behind the breach, to obſtruct the paſſage of the enemy into the city; after which they raiſed a ſubſtantial wall, in the form of a creſcent, along the ditch; and which would coſt the enemies a new attack.

As their attention was devoted, at the ſame time, to ever other emergency, they detached a ſquadron of the nimbleſt ſhips in their port, which took a great number of veſſels laden with proviſion and ammunition for Demetrius, and brought them into the port. Theſe were ſoon followed by a numerous fleet of ſmall veſſels freighted with corn and other neceſſaries, ſent them by Ptolemy, with fifteen hundred men commanded by Antigonus of Macedonia.

Demetrius, having re-inſtated his machines, cauſed them all to advance near the city, when a ſecond embaſſy arrived at the camp, from the Athenians, and ſome other ſtates of Greece, on the ſame ſubject as the former, but with as little ſucceſs. The King, whoſe imagination was fruitful of expedients for ſucceeding in his projects, detached fifteen hundred of his troops, under the command of Alcimus and Mancius, with orders to enter the breach at midnight, and force the entrenchments behind it. They were then to poſſeſs themſelves of the parts adjacent to the theatre, where they would be in a condition to maintain their ground, if they could but once make themſelves maſters of it. In order to facilitate the execution of ſo important and dangerous an expedition, and amuſe the enemy with falſe attacks, he at the ſame time cauſed the ſignal to be ſounded by all the trumpets, and the city to be attacked on all ſides, both by ſea and land, that the beſieged finding ſufficient employment in all parts, the fifteen hundred men might have an opportunity of forcing the intrenchments which covered the breach, and afterwards of ſeiſing all the advantageous poſts about the theatre. This feint had all the ſucceſs the prince expected from it. The troops having ſhouted from all quarters, as if they were advancing to a general aſſault, the detachment commanded by

Alcimus entered the breach, and made ſuch a vigorous attack upon thoſe who defended the ditch, and the creſcent which covered it, that after they had killed a great number of their enemies, and put the reſt into confuſion, they ſeiſed the poſts adjacent to the theatre, where they maintained themſelves.

The alarm was very great in the city, and all the chiefs who commanded there diſpatched orders to their officers and ſoldiers not to quit their poſts, nor make the leaſt movement whatever. After which they placed themſelves at the head of a choſen body of their own troops, and of thoſe who were newly arrived from Egypt, and with them poured upon the detachment which had advanced as far as the theatre: but the obſcurity of the night rendered it impracticable to diſlodge them from the poſts they had ſeiſed, and the day no ſooner appeared, than an univerſal cry of the beſiegers was heard from all quarters, by which they endeavoured to animate thoſe who had entered the place, and inſpire them with a reſolution to maintain their ground, where they might ſoon expect ſuccours. This terrible cry drew floods of tears and diſmal groans from the populace, women, and children, who continued in the city, and then concluded themſelves inevitably loſt. The battle, however, continued with great vigour at the theatre, and the Macedonians defended their poſts with an intrepidity that aſtoniſhed their enemies, till at laſt the Rhodians prevailing by their numbers, and perpetual ſupplies of freſh troops, the detachment, after having ſeen Alcimus and Mancius ſlain on the ſpot, were obliged to ſubmit to ſuperior force, and abandon a poſt it was no longer poſſible to maintain. Great numbers of them fell on the ſpot, and the reſt were taken priſoners.

The ardour of Demetrius was rather augmented than abated by this check, and he was making the neceſſary diſpoſitions for a new aſſault, when he received letters from his father Antigonus, by which he was directed to take all poſſible meaſures for the concluſion of a peace with the Rhodians. He then wanted ſome plauſible pretext for diſcontinuing the ſiege, and chance ſupplied him with it. At that very inſtant deputies from Ætolia arrived at his camp, to ſolicit him anew to grant a peace to the Rhodians, to which they found him not ſo averſe as before.

[o] If what Vegetius relates of the helepolis be true, and indeed Vitruvius ſeems to confirm it, with a ſmall variation of circumſtances, it might poſſibly be another motive that contributed not a little to diſpoſe Demetrius to a peace. That prince was preparing to advance his helepolis againſt the city, when a Rhodian engineer contrived an expedient to render it entirely uſeleſs; he opened a mine under the walls of the city, and continued it to the way over which the tower was to paſs the enſuing day in order to approach the walls. The beſiegers not ſuſpecting any ſtratagem of that nature, moved on the tower to the place undermined; which being incapable of ſupporting ſo enormous a load, ſunk in under the machine, which buried itſelf ſo deep in the earth, that it was impoſſible to draw it out again. This was one inconvenience to which theſe formidable engines were obnoxious; and the two authors whom I have cited declare, that this accident determined Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege, and it is, at leaſt, very probable that it contributed not a little to his taking that reſolution.

The Rhodians, on their part, were as deſirous of an accommodation as himſelf, provided it could be effected upon reaſonable terms. Ptolemy, in promiſing them freſh ſuccours, much more conſiderable than the former, had earneſtly exhorted them not to loſe ſo favourable an occaſion, if it ſhould offer itſelf. Beſides which, they were ſenſible of the extreme neceſſity they were under of putting an end to the ſiege, which could not but prove fatal to them at laſt. This conſideration induced them to liſten with pleaſure to the propoſals made them, and the treaty was concluded ſoon after upon the following terms. The republic of Rhodes, and all its citizens, ſhould retain the enjoyment of their rights, privileges and liberty, without being ſubjected to any power whatſoever. The alliance they had always had with Antigonus, was to be confirmed and renewed, with an obligation to take up arms for him in all future wars, provided it was not againſt Ptolemy. The city was alſo to deliver an hundred hoſtages, to be choſen by Demetrius, for the effectual performance of the articles ſtipulated between them. When theſe hoſtages were given, the army decamped from before Rhodes, after having beſieged it a year.

[o] Veget. de re milit. c. iv.

Demetrius, who was then reconciled with the Rhodians, was deſirous, before his departure, to give them a proof of that diſpoſition; and accordingly preſented them with all the machines of war he had employed in that ſiege. Theſe they afterwards ſold for three hundred talents (about three hundred thouſand crowns) which they employed, with an additional ſum of their own, in making the famous Coloſſus, which was reputed one of the ſeven wonders of the world. It was a ſtatue of the ſun, of ſo ſtupendous a ſize, that ſhips in full ſail paſſed between its legs; the height of it was ſeventy cubits, or one hundred and five feet, and few men could claſp its thumb with their arms. It was the work of Chares of Lindus, and employed him for the ſpace of twelve years. Sixty-ſix years after its erection it was thrown down by an earthquake; of which we ſhall ſpeak in the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Rhodians, to teſtify their gratitude to Ptolemy for the aſſiſtance he had given them in ſo dangerous a conjuncture, conſecrated a grove to that prince, after they had conſulted the oracle of Jupiter Ammon, to give the action an air of ſolemnity; and to honour him the more, erected a magnificent work within it. They built a ſumptuous portico, and continued it along each ſide of the ſquare which encompaſſed it, and contained a ſpace of four hundred fathoms. This portico was called the Ptolemæon; and, out of flattery, as cuſtomary in thoſe days as impious in itſelf, divine honours were rendered to him in that place: and, in order to perpetuate their deliverer in this war by another method, they gave him the appellation of Soter, which ſignifies a ſaviour, and is uſed by the hiſtorians to diſtinguiſh him from the other Ptolemies, who were his ſucceſſors on the throne of Egypt.

I was unwilling to interrupt the ſeries of events that occurred at this ſiege, and, therefore, reſerved for this place one that greatly redounds to the honour of Demetrius. It relates to his taſte for the arts, and the eſteem he entertained for thoſe who were diſtinguiſhed by peculiar merit in them; a circumſtance not a little for the glory of a prince.

Rhodes was at that time the reſidence of a celebrated painter, named Protogenes, who was a native of Caunus, a

[p] Plin. l. xxxiv. c. 7.

city of Caria, which was then ſubject to the Rhodians. The apartment where he painted was in the ſuburbs, without the city, when Demetrius firſt beſieged it; but neither the preſence of the enemies who then ſurrounded him, nor the noiſe of arms that perpetually rung in his ears, could induce him to quit his habitation, or diſcontinue his work. The king was ſurpriſed at his conduct; and as he one day aſked him his reaſons for ſuch a proceeding, "It is," replied he, "becauſe I am ſenſible you have declared war againſt the Rhodians, and not againſt the ſciences." Nor was he deceived in that opinion, for Demetrius actually ſhowed himſelf their protector. He planted a guard round his houſe, that the artiſt might enjoy tranquillity, or, at leaſt, be ſecure from danger amidſt the tumult and ravages of war. He frequently went to ſee him work, and never ſufficiently admired the application of that maſter to his art, and his ſurpriſing excellency in it.

The maſter-piece of this painter was the *Jalyſus*, an hiſtorical picture of a perſon of that name, whom the Rhodians acknowledged as their founder, though only a fabulous hero.* Protogenes had employed ſeven years in finiſhing this piece; and when Apelles firſt ſaw it, he was tranſported with ſo much admiration, that his ſpeech failed him for ſome time; and when he at laſt began to recover from his aſtoniſhment, he cried out, "Prodigious work indeed! Admirable performance! It has not, however, the graces I give my works, and which have raiſed their reputation to the ſkies." If we may credit Pliny, Protogenes, during the whole time he applied himſelf to this work, condemned himſelf to a very rigid and abſtemious life,† that the delicacy of his taſte and imagination might not be affected by his diet. This picture was carried to Rome, and conſecrated in the temple of Peace, where it remained to the time of Pliny; but it was at laſt deſtroyed by fire.

The ſame Pliny pretends, that Rhodes was ſaved by this picture; becauſe as it hung in the only quarter by which it was poſſible for Demetrius to take the city, he rather choſe to

* He was the ſon of Orchimas, whoſe parents were the Sun and Rhoda, from whom the city and iſland derived their name.

† He ſubſiſted himſelf on boiled lupines, a kind of pulſe which ſatisfied his hunger and thirſt at the ſame time.

abandon his conqueſt,* than expoſe ſo precious a monument of art to the danger of being conſumed in the flames. This, indeed, would have been carrying his taſte and value for painting into a ſurpriſing extreme; but we have already ſeen the true reaſons which obliged Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege.

One of the figures in this picture was a dog,† that was admired by all good judges, and had coſt the painter great application, without his being able to expreſs his idea to his own ſatisfaction, though he was ſufficiently pleaſed with all the reſt of the work. He endeavoured to repreſent the dog panting, and with his mouth foaming as after a long chaſe; and employed all the ſkill he was capable of exerting on that occaſion, without being able to content himſelf. Art, in his opinion, was more viſible than it ought to have been; a mere reſemblance would not ſuffice, and almoſt nothing but reality itſelf would ſatisfy him. He was deſirous that the foam ſhould not ſeem painted, but actually flowing out of the mouth of the dog. He frequently retouched it, and ſuffered a degree of torture from his anxiety to expreſs thoſe ſimple tràces of nature, of which he had formed the ideas in his mind. All his attempts were however ineffectual, till at laſt, in a violent emotion of rage and deſpair, he darted at the picture the very ſponge with which he uſed to wipe out his colours, and chance accompliſhed that which art had not been able to effect.

This painter is cenſured for being too difficult to be pleaſed, and for retouching his pictures too frequently. It is certain, that though Apelles‡ almoſt regarded him as his maſter, and allowed him a number of excellent qualities, yet he con-

* *Parcentem picturæ fugit occaſio victoriæ.*

† *Eſt in ea canis mirè factus, ut quem pariter caſus & ars pinxerint. Non judicabat ſe exprimere in eo ſpumam anhelantis poſſe, cùm in reliqua omni parte (quod difficillimum erat) ſibi ipſi ſatisfeciſſet. Diſplicebat autem ars ipſa, nec minui poterat, & videbatur nimia, ac longiùs à veritate diſcedere, ſpumaque illa pingi non ex ore naſci, anxio animi cruciatu cùm in pictura verum eſſe, non veriſimile, vellet. Abſterſerat ſæpius mutaveratque penicillum, nullo modo ſibi approbans. Poſtremò iratus arti quòd intelligeretur, ſpongiam eam impegit inviſo loco tabulæ, & illa repoſuit ablatos colores, qualiter cura optabat: fecitque in pictura fortuna naturam.* PLIN. lib. XXXV. cap. 10.

‡ *Et aliam gloriam uſurpavit Apelles, cùm Protogenis opus immenſi laboris ac curæ ſupra modum anxiæ miraretur. Dixit enim omnia ſibi cum illo paria eſſe, aut illi meliora, ſed uno ſe præſtare, quòd manum ille de tabula neſciret tollere memorabili præcepto, nocere ſæpe nimiam diligentiam.* PLIN. ibid.

demned in him the defect of not being able to quit the pencil and finiſh his works; a defect highly pernicious in eloquence as well as painting. "We ought," ſays Cicero,* to know how far we ſhould go: and Apelles juſtly cenſured ſome painters for not knowing when to have done."

SECT. IX. *The expedition of Seleucus into India. Demetrius compels Caſſander to raiſe the ſiege of Athens. The exceſſive honours paid him in that city. A league between Ptolemy, Seleucus, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, againſt Antigonus and Demetrius. The battle of Ipſus, a city of Phrygia, wherein Antigonus is ſlain, and Demetrius put to flight.*

THE farther we advance into the hiſtory of Alexander's Succeſſors, the more eaſily may we diſcover the ſpirit by which they were conſtantly actuated hitherto, and by which they will ſtill appear to be influenced. They at firſt concealed their real diſpoſitions, by nominating children, or perſons of weak capacities, to the regal dignity, in order to diſguiſe their own ambitious views. But as ſoon as all the family of Alexander was deſtroyed, they threw off the maſk, and diſcovered themſelves in their proper colours, and ſuch as, in reality, they had always been. They were all equally ſolicitous to ſupport themſelves in their ſeveral governments; to become entirely independent; to aſſume an abſolute ſovereignty; and enlarge the limits of their provinces and kingdoms at the expence of thoſe other governors, who were weaker or leſs ſucceſsful than themſelves. To this effect they employed the force of their arms, and entered into alliances, which they were always ready to violate, when they could derive more advantages from others, and they renewed them with the ſame facility from the ſame motives. They conſidered the vaſt conqueſts of Alexander as an inheritance deſtitute of a maſter, and which prudence obliged them to ſecure for themſelves, in as large portion as poſſible, without any apprehenſions of being reproached as uſurpers, for the acquiſition of countries gained by the victories of the Macedonians, but not the property of any particular perſon. This

* *In omnibus rebus videndum eſt quatenus——In quo Apelles pictores quoque eos peccare dicebat, qui non ſentirent quid eſſet ſatis.* ORAT. n. 73.

was the great motive of all the enterpriſes in which they engaged.

A. M. 3701. Ant. J. C. 303. Seleucus, as we formerly obſerved, was maſter of all the countries between Euphrates and Indus, and was deſirous of acquiring thoſe that lay beyond the latter of thoſe rivers. In order, therefore, to improve the favourable conjuncture of his union in point of intereſt with Ptolemy, Caſſander, and Lyſimachus, and at a time when the forces of Antigonus were divided, and Demetrius was employed in the ſiege of Rhodes, and in awing the republics of Greece; in a word, while Antigonus himſelf was only intent upon becoming maſter of Syria and Phœnicia, and attacking Ptolemy even in Egypt itſelf: Seleucus therefore thought it incumbent on him to improve this diverſion, which weakened the only enemy he had to fear; for carrying his arms againſt the people of India, who were included in his lot by the general partition, and whom he hoped it would be very practicable for him to ſubdue by a ſudden irruption, altogether unexpected by king Sandrocotta. This perſon was an Indian of very mean extraction, who, under the ſpecious pretext of delivering his country from the tyranny of foreigners, had raiſed an army, and augmented it ſo well by degrees, that he found means to drive the Macedonians out of all the provinces of India which Alexander had conquered, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in them, while the ſucceſſors of that monarch were engaged in mutual wars with each other. Seleucus paſſed the Indus in order to regain thoſe provinces; but when he found that Sandrocotta had rendered himſelf abſolute maſter of all India, and had likewiſe an army of ſix hundred thouſand men, with a prodigious number of elephants, he did not judge it prudent to attack ſo potent a prince; but entered into a treaty with him, by which he agreed to renounce all his pretenſions to that country, provided Sandrocotta would furniſh him with five hundred elephants; upon which terms a peace was concluded. This was the final reſult of Alexander's Indian conqueſts! This the fruit of ſo much blood ſhed to gratify the frantic ambition of one prince! Seleucus ſhortly after led his troops into the weſt againſt Antigonus, as I ſhall ſoon obſerve. The abſolute neceſſity he was under of engaging in this war, was one of his ſtrongeſt inducements for concluding ſo ſudden a peace with the Indian prince.

[q] The Athenians at the ſame time, called in Demetrius to aſſiſt them againſt Caſſander, who beſieged their city. He accordingly ſet ſail with three hundred and thirty gallies, and a great body of foot; and not only drove Caſſander out of Attica, but purſued him as far as Thermopylæ, where he defeated him, and made himſelf maſter of Heraclea, which ſurrendered voluntarily. He alſo admitted into his ſervice ſix thouſand Macedonians, who came over to his ſide.

When he returned to Athens, the inhabitants of that city, though they had already laviſhed upon him all the honours they were able to invent, had recourſe to new flatteries that outdid the former. They lodged him in the back part of the temple of Minerva, called Partheon; but even this place, which had ſo much ſanctity aſcribed to it by the people, and was the manſion of a virgin goddeſs, he did not ſcruple to profane by the moſt infamous and crying debaucheries. His courteſans were there treated with more honour than the goddeſs herſelf, and where the only divinities he adored. [r] He even cauſed altars to be erected to them by the Athenians, whom he called abject wretches, for their mean compliance, and creatures born only for ſlavery; ſo much was even this prince ſhocked at ſuch deſpicable adulation, as Tacitus obſerved with reſpect to Tiberius.*

Democles, ſurnamed *the Fair*, and of a very tender age, threw himſelf, in order to elude the violence of Demetrius, into a veſſel of boiling water prepared for a bath, and there loſt his life, chooſing rather to die than violate his modeſty. The Athenians, to appeaſe the reſentment of Demetrius, who was extremely offended at a decree they had publiſhed with relation to him, iſſued a new one, importing, "That it was ordered and adjudged by the people of Athens, that whatever Demetrius might think fit to command, ſhould be conſidered as ſacred in regard to the gods, and juſt with regard to men." Is it poſſible to believe, that flattery and ſervitude could be

[q] Diod. l. xx. p. 825—828. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899. [r] Athen. l. vi. p. 253.

* *Memoriæ proditur, Tiberium, quoties curia egrederetur, Græcis verbis in hunc modum eloqui ſolitum:* O homines ad ſervitutem paratos! *Scilicet etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nollet, tam projectæ ſervientium patientiæ tædebat.* TACIT. Annal. l. iii. c. 65.

carried to ſuch an exceſs of baſeneſs, extravagance, and irreligion!

Demetrius, after theſe proceedings, retired into Peloponneſus, and took from Ptolemy, who had rendered himſelf powerful in that country, the cities of Sicyone, Corinth, and ſeveral others, where he had garriſons. And as he happened to be at Argos, at the grand feſtival in honour of Juno, he was deſirous of celebrating it, by propoſing prizes, and preſiding in perſon among the Greeks. In order to ſolemniſe it more effectually, he eſpouſed, on that day, Deidamia, the daughter of Æacides, king of the Moloſſians, and ſiſter of Pyrrhus.

[s] The ſtates of Greece being aſſembled in the Iſthmus, and curioſity having drawn a vaſt number of people from all parts, Demetrius was proclaimed general of all the Greeks, as Philip and Alexander had been before him; to whom he thought himſelf abundantly ſuperior, ſo much was he intoxicated with the ſucceſs of his arms, and the flattery laviſhed upon him.

When he was upon his departure from Peloponneſus for Athens, he wrote to the inhabitants of that city, that he intended, upon his arrival among them, to be initiated in the great and leſſer myſteries at the ſame time. This had never been permitted before; for it was neceſſary to obſerve certain intervals; it being lawful to celebrate the leſſer myſteries only in the month of March,* and the greater in that of October. In order therefore to obviate this inconvenience, and ſatisfy ſo religious a prince, it was ordered, that the then preſent month of May ſhould be deemed the month of March, and afterwards that of October; and Demetrius, by this rare invention, was duly initiated, without infringing the cuſtoms and ceremonials preſcribed by the law.

But of all the abuſes committed at Athens, that which moſt afflicted and mortified the inhabitants, was an order iſſued by Demetrius, for immediately furniſhing the ſum of two hundred and fifty talents; and when this money had been collected without the leaſt delay or abatement, the prince the moment he ſaw it amaſſed together, ordered it to be given to Lamia, and the other courteſans in her company, for waſhes

[s] Plut. in Demetr. p. 900.

* There are various opinions with relation to the months in which theſe myſteries were celebrated.

and paint. The Athenians were more offended at the indignity than the loſs, and reſented the application of that ſum to a greater degree than their contribution of it.

Lamia, as if this terrible expence had not been ſufficient, being deſirous to regale Demetrius at a feaſt, extorted money from ſeveral of the richeſt Athenians by her own private authority. The entertainment coſt immenſe ſums, and gave birth to a very ingenious pleaſantry of a comic poet, who ſaid, that Lamia was a true helepolis; we have already ſhown, that the helepolis was a machine invented by Demetrius for attacking towns.

[t] Caſſander finding himſelf vigorouſly preſſed by Demetrius, and not being able to obtain a peace without ſubmitting entirely to the diſcretion of Antigonus, agreed with Lyſimachus to ſend ambaſſadors to Seleucus and Ptolemy, to repreſent to them the ſituation to which they were reduced. The conduct of Antigonus made it evident, that he had no leſs in view than to diſpoſſeſs all the other ſucceſſors of Alexander, and uſurp the whole empire to himſelf; and that it was time to form a ſtrict alliance with each other to humble this exorbitant power. They were likewiſe offended, and Lyſimachus in particular, at the contemptible manner in which Demetrius permitted people to treat the other kings in their converſation at his table, appropriating the regal title to himſelf and his father; whereas Ptolemy, according to his flatterers, was no more than the captain of a ſhip, Seleucus a commander of elephants, and Lyſimachus a treaſurer. A confederacy was therefore formed by theſe four kings, after which they haſtened into Aſſyria, to make preparations for this new war. A. M. 3702. Ant. J. C. 302.

The firſt operations of it were commenced at the Helleſpont; Caſſander and Lyſimachus having judged it expedient, that the former ſhould continue in Europe, to defend it againſt Demetrius; and that the latter ſhould invade the provinces of Antigonus, in Aſia, with as many troops as could be drawn out of their two kingdoms, without leaving them too deſtitute of forces. Lyſimachus executed his part conformably to the agreement; paſſed the Helleſpont with a

[t] Diod. l. xx. p. 830—836. Plut. in Demetr. p. 899. Juſtin. l. xv. c. 4.

fine army, and, either by treaty or force, reduced Phrygia, Lydia, Lycaonia, and moſt of the territories between the Propontis and the river Mæander.

Antigonus was then at Antigonia, which he had lately built in Upper Syria, and where he was employed in celebrating the ſolemn games he had there eſtabliſhed. This news, with that of ſeveral other revolts, tranſmitted to him at the ſame time, cauſed him immediately to quit his games. He accordingly diſmiſſed the aſſembly upon the ſpot, and made preparations for advancing againſt the enemy. When all his troops were drawn together, he marched with the utmoſt expedition over mount Taurus, and entered Cilicia, where he took out of the public treaſury of Synada, a city of that province, as much money as he wanted, and then augmented his troops to the number he thought neceſſary. After which he advanced directly towards the enemy, and took ſeveral places in his march. Lyſimachus thought proper to be upon the defenſive, till the arrival of the ſuccours upon their march to join him from Seleucus and Ptolemy. The remaining part of the year therefore, elapſed without any action, and each party retired into winter-quarters.

A. M. 3703. Ant. J. C. 301. Seleucus, at the beginning of the next ſeaſon, formed his army at Babylon, and marched into Cappadocia, to act againſt Antigonus. This latter ſent immediately for Demetrius, who left Greece with great expedition, marched to Epheſus, and retook that city, with ſeveral others that had declared for Lyſimachus upon his arrival in Aſia.

Ptolemy improved the opportunity in Syria, of the abſence of Antigonus, and recovered all Phœnicia, Judæa, and Cœloſyria, except the cities of Tyre and Sidon, where Antigonus had left good garriſons. He, indeed, formed the ſiege of Sidon; but whilſt his troops were employed in battering the walls, he received intelligence that Antigonus had defeated Seleucus and Lyſimachus, and was advancing to relieve the place. Upon this information he made a truce for five months with the Sidonians, raiſed the ſiege, and returned to Egypt.

Here ends what remains of the hiſtory of Diodorus Siculus, in a period of the greateſt importance, and on the very point of a battle, by which the fate of Alexander's ſucceſſors is to be decided.

[a] The confederate army, commanded by Seleucus and Lyſimachus, and the troops of Antigonus and Demetrius, arrived at Phrygia almoſt at the ſame time, but did not long confront each other without coming to blows. Antigonus had above ſixty thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants. The enemies' forces conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand foot, ten thouſand five hundred horſe, four hundred elephants, with a hundred and twenty chariots armed with ſcythes. The battle was fought near Ipſus, a city of Phrygia.

As ſoon as the ſignal was given, Demetrius, at the head of his beſt cavalry, fell upon Antiochus, the ſon of Seleucus, and behaved with ſo much bravery, that he broke the enemy's ranks, and put them to flight; but a raſh and inconſiderate thirſt of glory, which generals can never ſuſpect too much, and has been fatal to many, prompted Demetrius to purſue the fugitives with too much ardour, and without any conſideration for the reſt of the army; by which means he loſt the victory he might eaſily have ſecured, had he improved his firſt advantage aright. For when he returned from the purſuit, he found it impracticable for him to rejoin his infantry, the enemy's elephants having filled up all the intermediate ſpace. When Seleucus ſaw the infantry of Antigonus ſeparated from their cavalry, he only made ſeveral feint attacks upon them, ſometimes on one ſide, and ſometimes on another, in order to intimidate and afford them ſufficient time to quit the army of Antigonus, and come over to his own; and this was at laſt the expedient on which they reſolved. The greateſt part of the infantry detached themſelves from the reſt, and ſurrendered in a voluntary manner to Seleucus, and the other were all put to flight. At the ſame inſtant a large body of the army of Seleucus drew off by his order, and made a furious attack upon Antigonus, who ſuſtained their efforts for ſome time, but being at laſt overwhelmed with darts, and having received many wounds, he fell dead on the earth, having defended himſelf valiantly to his laſt gaſp. Demetrius ſeeing his father dead, rallied all the troops he was able to draw together; and retired to Epheſus, with five thouſand foot,

[a] Plut. in Demetr. p. 902.

and four thouſand horſe; which were all that remained of more than ſixty thouſand men, whom his father and himſelf commanded at the beginning of the engagement. * The great Pyrrhus, as young as he then was, was inſeparable from Demetrius, overthrew all that oppoſed him, and gave an eſſay, in this firſt action, of what might be expected one day from his valour and bravery.

* Plut. in Pyrrh. p. 384.

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